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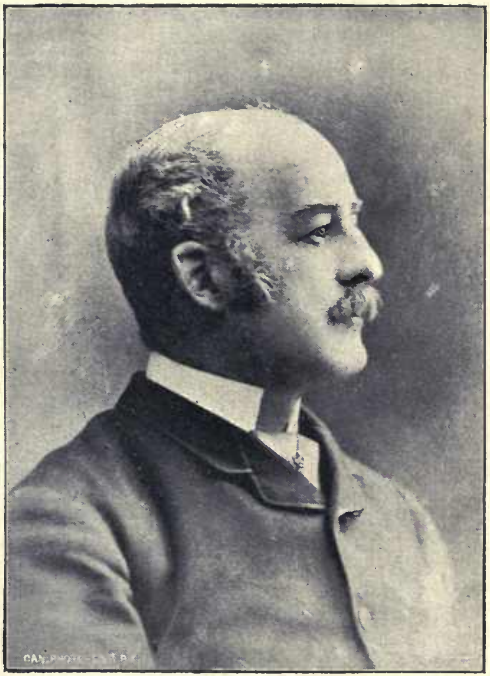


BARLOW CUMBERLAND.

INTRODUCTION.

THE publication of the addresses in this little volume was ordered by the members of the National Club as an acknowledgment to the gentlemen who had so kindly and ably offered them entertainment, and in the hope that they might lead kindred or other organizations to spend some of their winter evenings in similar manner.

Our country is in its initial stages, it is but a short time since large portions of it were won from the virgin forest, and even so lately as the time of Confederation our fathers were roused to enthusiasm by the project of uniting a country extending only from Windsor to the Atlantic. Yet, since then, in twenty-four short years, we have joined Montreal by rail to the Sea and gained a winter outlet of our own through Canada, have opened up to access the mining wealth of our Northern lakes, have discovered the boundless wheat lands of the Central prairies, dotted with sleek herds the perennial grasses of Assiniboia and Alberta, and piercing the Rockies have joined the valleys of Columbia to the inland plains and made a half a Continent our own.

Is not this a record of which a population of but five millions may well feel proud?

Nation building in older lands is the work of centuries, but here, under our bracing northern air the work speeds on so fast that Canada, United from sea

to sea, has grown into place and view among the peoples almost before her own sons have awakened to the knowledge.

This very suddeness of rise has caused some ancient seers to err in estimating the impelling forces that are at work and fail to grasp the wondrous march and changes of events. Judging by minor notes of discordant strains they give way to doubts, or counting up the gross statistics of adjacent lands they are oppressed with fears, they know not, nor are in touch with, the young hearts of the North, nor with the deep and growing issue from the soil whose living thrill has made our poet Roberts sing :—

> " Awake, my country, the hour of dreams is done!
> Doubt not, nor dread the greatness of thy fate."

Canada as seen by them upon the maps is not the Canada of present development. To be understood, she must be better known, for Nature has framed her to feed not only this continent but the world ; Union is knitting her business together along the Continental lines of trade, and Climate compacting her people into National characteristics.

In the discovery of this Canada of to-day, the very laws of Nature as they rule in older lands are found to be somewhat reversed.

In Europe, or even here upon the eastern side of America, to go northwards is to go to the region of greater cold. There, 'tis to leave the sunny plains of

Lombardy and seek the bleak wastes of Russia steppes; here, to lose the woody slopes of green Vermont and freeze along the glacial coasts of Labrador.

Move but to the centre of our continent, start from the cyclone and storm swept fields of Dakota and Minnesota and to go north is to go to the region of greater warmth. Leaving the elevated plateaux of these Southward States the river waters all drain north and follow into Canada the decreasing altitude of the inner slopes; the Isothermal lines, marking the lines of equal temperature, spread boldly up and meet far north the soft Chinook winds which find their way from the Pacific shores around the lessened ranges of the intervening heights.

Climate is affected by Altitude as well as by Latitude, the snow-clad tops of Switzerland are but a stone's throw from the summer heats within her vales, and so too is it in this Central Canada whose broad plain, through which the rivers run, lies like a huge valley below the southern mountain lands of the United States, from whence the waters take their source.

Why wonder that it takes time for such new things as these to be understood?

But of this fair land we Canadians have the greater share. In mid America, nature has clearly marked three zones of growth. Far to the south, the torrid *Cotton Zone;* next to it the tepid *Corn Zone*, wherein the bulky maize or Indian corn attains to its maturity, both of these entirely within the confines of the United States;

next to the north the temperate *Wheat Zone* in which alternate winter cold and summer heat are needed to bring the wheat staple to its full perfection. Of this, the wheat zone of America, the field from which the nations are to be fed, the United States themselves admit, that but one-third is within their territories and two-thirds is within Canada. Seeing then that men eat wheat and do not live on maize or cotton it is to this Canada of the future that Great Britain and Europe must look for future food and not to the United States.

These facts of the Isothermal warmth and wheat bearing capacity of the north are so novel to the stranger that the wonder then is, not that our population has developed with comparative slowness, but that it has increased so fast.

Here in Central Canada, is the larger wheat zone of the continent, with millions of acres yet untilled waiting to join the jocund chorus so soon as man shall call their latent powers into play.

As we ourselves have only so lately discovered this fertile belt, locked up for centuries by the great fur company whose interest it was that it should be kept an undeveloped waste, why wonder it takes the people of foreign lands some time to believe in its existence?

This wealth of Canadian wheat fields we have so far but barely touched, and only in chief by the migration of our own Canadian farmers and fishermen from their eastern homes, yet already in this land where the length of sunny summer daylight gives eight days to

each week, mid the rolling hills of Manitoba and by the interweaving waters of Saskatchewan,

> "The valleys stand so thick with corn
> That they laugh and sing."

As time spreads the good news around, the adverse influence of spiritless croakers at home, and of rival touters for adjacent States abroad being overcome, our population will multiply with increasing bounds. Then the result will arrive with even greater speed, for it must not be forgotten in taking measure of the advance of this portion of our country that with such easy tillage one farmer here in Central Canada represents in producing capacity at the very least five farmers in the East. Thus the reality of the Immigration is greater than its statistical number.

But yet another thing. This central mass of wheat producing lands must some-how send its trade somewhere. Why should it be Anti-continental in its movements? Why should it not follow the same rules as the other, but earlier discovered districts, in its neighborhood?

The Trade geography of a country does not, in modern times depend upon the Natural channels which nature has created but upon the Mechanical channels which commercial energy has constructed.

Take the wheat and corn bearing zones in the United States to the south of this central Canada, the Mississippi and Missouri rivers are their natural channels of exit and upon lines running north and south

were conducted their first and natural lines of trade. But railway construction has completely changed all these natural laws and laying tracks athwart these rivers' courses has changed the flow of trade from being north and south to become a movement between east and west.

Centering at St. Louis, Chicago, Omaha and St. Paul are fans of collecting railways spreading westward from each, drawing the western country to their markets and forwarding it thence by the great east and west trunk lines *via* the Sault, Detroit, or farther south in parallel lines onward to the sea. So, too, with ourselves, Winnipeg, Fort William, Toronto and Montreal are centres of similar fans joined together by our great Trunk routes. If it be Continental for the citizen of Boston or New York to eat flour ground in Minneapolis and send in payment for it the merchandise of the east, why should it be Anti-continental for the Canadian citizen in Montreal, St. John or Halifax to use the flour ground in Winnipeg, or the food products of his countrymen of the west and send to them in turn the business products of his enterprise.

The geographical contour of Canada in being set out in one long line from east to west, is thus not a detriment but a distinct advantage.

It concentrates our forces along the Continental east and west lines of Trade geography and makes the Eastern portion of our people the proper complement of the West. In the United States the east has, in course of years, by Mechanical channels, become the

conduit pipe for the products of the centre and west. We have but *just* entered upon the enjoyment of a similar state of affairs. Give us but time and, judging by the present march of results, in less time than did they we shall build up within ourselves an interchange of trade along the Mechanical lines which our energy, like theirs, has created, but yet more easily along the Natural water lines of our Great Lakes and St. Lawrence, whose Water-ways, running parallel to our Mechanical trade channels, fringe our Southern shores, regulate our railway rates and bind us into a more economical Unity. As if to further help our Mechanical channels Nature has given us the only coal beds upon the sea board at either end and plumped another right in the middle to make the motive fuel power complete. Where Nature gives us so much aid ought we to repine that she has set some difficulties also to be overcome?—Let us overcome them.

Again, the geographical contour of our Country assists by creating a Unity of Race.

Living throughout in a region wherein winter is everywhere a distinct season of the year, enuring the body and stimulating to exertion, we are by nature led to be a provident, a thrifty, and a hardy people; no weaklings can thrive among us, we must be as vigorous as our climate.

Our country has been colonized in large majority from the British Isles and the balance almost entirely from the northern veins of Europe, the Norman French, North Germans, Norwegians, Swedes and Icelanders,

while from the southern nations few seek our shores, but settle farther south.

What then the natural selection of Immigration has effected, nature is welding together into Unity and by this very similarity of climate creating in Canada a homogeneous Race, sturdy in frame, stable in character which will be to America what their forefathers, the Northmen of old, were to the continent of Europe.

The virility of our breed has been tested on the battle fields of the American Civil War, in the Red River Expedition, on the Nile and in our own North-West, in all of which its vigor has been commended and extolled. Our youth are active and excel in all manly out door sports, our girls can walk and row and swim, the bloom of health is seen upon their cheeks, while in business pursuits throughout this continent our young men are sought out and by some termed the Scotchmen of America.

If so much has been effected in so few generations, how much more will arise in the future as Canadians are becoming alive to the duty they individually owe to their Country and their Race. Is a French-speaking Belgian considered a "Separatist" because he refuses to be a Frenchman, or a Portuguese "Anti-continental" because he declines to be a Spaniard? Is a Swiss despised because he defies all Europe? Then why should a Canadian be called "Anti-continental" because he refuses to be a United Stater and determines to be a Canadian? Bystanders who prate in such guise might do well to beware of longer trying the patience

and the self-respect of the sons of Canadian soil.

Canada has come upon this continent to stay, and Canadians mean to grow into a Nation.

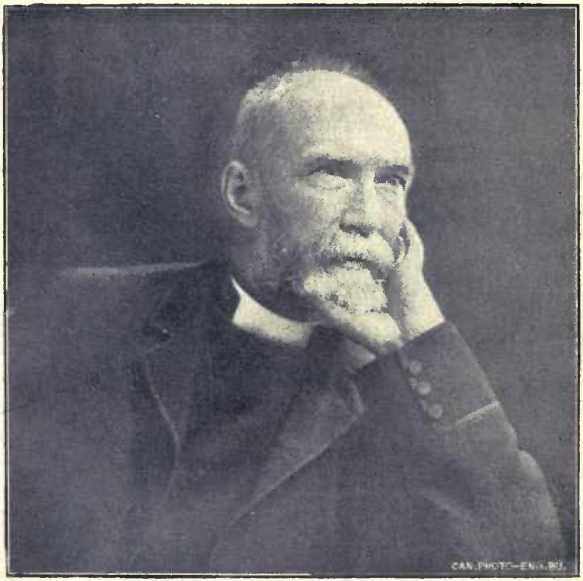
Climate and our country have made Canadians what they are, Canadians have joined in Union and made Canada what she is, and now from where on Nova Scotia's shores one brother holds the Atlantic seas to far Victoria's rose-wreathed homes we hold hands in firm fraternal line, steadfastly determined to maintain "The Maple Leaf Forever!"

It was with a view, not only of spending pleasant evenings in social intercourse, but also to gain information as to our Country, her History, Constitution, Power, Progress, Commerce and points of Union that these "National evenings" were introduced. They were arranged for and would have been more numerous but that the General Election intervened, but the interest created was such that their continuance is recommended.

The thanks of the Club are given most cordially to the Press for its assistance in furthering the meetings, and to the speakers for their papers, the perusal of which may lead to a larger appreciation of our Country and cause others to dwell on similar inspiring themes.

F. BARLOW CUMBERLAND,

August, 1891. *President.*



REV. PRINCIPAL GRANT.

Our National Objects and Aims.

An address delivered before the National Club, Toronto, by Rev. Geo. Grant, D.D., Principal of Queen's University, Kingston.

ALLOW me, Mr. President, to thank you for conceiving and carrying out the plan of a series of addresses on Canadian subjects to the members of the National Club and their friends. I consented with pleasure to give this introductory lecture, if a friendly talk on a subject of common interest may bear so formal a title. It seems to me that those of us who have any leisure time should have sufficient seriousness to give it to the discussion and consideration of problems suggested by the history, the position or the outlook of our country. Different estimates are made of what our immediate future is likely to be, and no wonder, for our political position is perhaps unique in history. As a matter of fact, we are something more than a colony and something less than a nation. A colony is a dependency, and we are practically independent. A nation has full self-government, not only as regards local questions, but as regards all foreign relations, including peace, war and treaty making. We have not ventured to undertake those supreme responsibilities, either alone or as a part-

ner, and therefore we are not a nation. Our actual position is veiled by the kindly courtesy of the mother country. It is the custom to associate a Canadian representative with the British ambassador when negotiations affecting our interests are carried on with other states. This year, too, Lord Salisbury, after submitting since 1886—in our interest as well as in the common interest—to aggressions that would not have been allowed to any other power on earth for a week, at last was constrained to inform Secretary Blaine that the country that continued to capture Canadian ships on the high seas must be prepared to take the consequences. So far nothing more could be desired, but we cannot forget that Lord Salisbury—nominally responsible to the Queen—is really responsible to the British House of Commons, and that neither in that House nor in the Queen's Privy Council have we any constitutional representation. Few will maintain that the position is satisfactory either to Canada or Britain. In these circumstances men cannot avoid speculating concerning our future, nor is it any wonder that diverse views are entertained concerning what that future is likely to be. Every day speculation is going on. Everyone else takes a hand in it, and why should we keep silent? Only a month or two ago, the most distinguished student of history in Canada told an audience that political union with the great republic to the south of us was our manifest destiny. The newspaper that published his address did not agree with him, but declared editorially that "Canada's ultimate destiny is to

become a great independent nation." How fortunate that the adjective "ultimate" was inserted, for, fancy the alarm from Maine to the Gulf of Mexico, when our Minister of War should declare that if the Bear or the Rush captured any more Canadian vessels the United States must "take the consequences!" While representative individuals differ so widely from each other, our House of Commons last winter unanimously passed a solemn resolution to the Queen emphatically disavowing all who might allege that Canadians were not loyal to the present connection with Britain. That resolution is evidently understood in England, and I should suppose it was meant to be understood there, and everywhere else, as the voice of Canada, in opposition to the voices of eminently respectable units; but in looking behind the resolution we find that some who supported it took care to provide for themselves a safe retreat. Our ultimate destiny, after all, according to them, was to be separation from the Empire of which we now form a part, but whether ultimate meant next year or the Greek kalends was left unspecified.

There is a peculiar fitness in the members of a National Club considering the whole question of the country's position. They themselves and those who address them can speak without restraint, whereas, the politician is often obliged to be silent or to fence. They can form their convictions calmly and express them modestly, whereas the editorial writer must advocate the views of his paper and must advocate them oracularly. Great is the power of the press, especially

for making mischief between countries filled with inflammable material, but, as the *Bystander* puts it, "The serious question is, what is behind the press? How many journals are there which are free from clandestine influences alien to the common weal?" When money can buy the most powerful pens, a free people will not surrender its judgment and its destiny to the thunder of double-leaded editorials. Their stunning noise repeated day in and day out, from year's end to year's end, is like the sound of many waters, but it all comes from half a dozen pens. It sounds effective, but it breaks no bones and changes few votes. An educated country makes up its own mind, and it will never dispense with the voice of the men it considers thoughtful, unselfish and independent. A Club like this affords a platform for calm discussion by men who stand in the daylight. Each of us speaks for himself, and will have due weight given, not only to what he says, but to what he is.

In considering the position of Canada, my first question is whether ground can be found on which men of different views will consent to stand. There is such ground. Whether we separate from the Empire to form an independent state, or remain in the Empire, gradually evolving into a position of closer union and equality of constitutional privilege and responsibility, it is equally a matter of the first importance that Canada be united and strong. No matter, then, which of the two destinies we believe the future to have in store for us, our duty is to be Canada First men.

This is ground that both unionist and separatist can take honestly. If a man professes independence with the intention of immediately breaking Canada up and handing it over in pieces to another power, he, of course, cannot take this common ground. But it is quite needless to say that there are no such men in Canada.

I may pause a little here to point out the difference between the policies of the honest unionist and the honest separatist. The policy of the former preserves our historical continuity and promises peaceful development. That of the latter means a revolution to begin with and weakness forever afterwards. Grown up men know that revolutions are not things to be played with, and that national weakness is always next door to national humiliation. There are two parties to the existing union between Britain and Canada, and if one of them—represented by our House of Commons—has no desire to break the union, the other has just as little. Last month I was in Halifax and took a sail on the harbor. Near the dockyard six ships of war, each a match for a fleet of the last generation, slept on the water. Beside them lay two or three modern torpedo boats that had just crossed the Atlantic, and not far off was a dry dock built at the joint expense of the British and Canadian Governments and the city of Halifax. Beyond the harbor at York redoubt, and on the opposite point of McNab's island, Britain is now spending a part of its great special war vote, extending the old forts and fitting them with

new armaments. There is no sign anywhere that separation is thought of by responsible persons. And does the separatist fancy that the greatest Empire in the world will dissolve itself at the first summons? that its Government will give up without a struggle impregnable positions, the headquarters of its North America and West India squadrons, the Atlantic terminus of its alternative route to that crowded East, where its interests are becoming vaster every year? that one of the parties to the existing contract has the right to terminate the connection in a fit of irritation, or that, if it should deliberately make up its mind to that as a policy, it could remain a friend, or actually hope for assistance, should assistance be needed soon afterwards, for the preservation of independence? No State can be asked to consent calmly to disruption. All this, however, by the way. My main object now is to point out that separatist and unionist can stand shoulder to shoulder on this common ground, that it is a first duty to labor for the unity, the strength and the dignity of Canada. Admittedly, this platform is not wide enough for the annexationist. His platform is different, whether it be considered good or bad; and I am far from saying that it could not be plausibly defended from the point of view of advantage to England, as well as advantage to Canada. The annexationist, however, at the outset surrenders the name of Canada, with all that it involves—its history, its constitution, its past struggles, its present life, its hopes and aims—as things absolutely worthless. Of course,

to some men, and all cattle, these things are worthless. Greater material prosperity may indeed be promised to the different provinces, one by one. But the more effectually they can be set by the ears now, the more certainly will the millennium come. The provinces would continue to exist as states, but the relations that make them a power would be dissolved. Each would be obliged to stand by itself or form new relations; for the Canada of which they are a part would be blotted from the map of the world forever. But, though the annexationist must be left out of count to-night, this probably does not matter much. During the last fifteen months I have been in every province of the Dominion, and after inviting the frankest interchange of opinion everywhere, I came to the conclusion that there is less thought of annexation now than at any time during the last forty years. The growing sentiment of Canadian nationality is quietly killing it out. It is denied, indeed, that there is any such national sentiment, seeing that the people of the maritime provinces and of British Columbia still call themselves by their old names. But what else could be expected? People instinctively use old names. More than a quarter of a century ago the Free church of Nova Scotia merged its name and existence in that of the Presbyterian church, but the other day, when I asked a merchant in the little town where I went to school as a boy, for the address of a friend, the answer was, "He lives beside the Free church." Depend upon it, there is no part of the Dominion where a sturdier Canadian senti-

ment is growing than down by the Atlantic, and British Columbia, too, is all right.

What, then, is most needed to help us in the great and inspiring work of making a nation in which unionists and separatists alike can engage with all their hearts? At home a better understanding and larger tolerance of each other, and with regard to other countries, such an attitude as shall ensure their respect. Let us consider what these two needs involve.

Firstly, Canada is a hard country to govern and to unify. It consists of geographical districts separated from each other by unfertile wildernesses. In spite of obstacles the success of Confederation has been remarkable to all who know how long it takes to make a country, and who know anything of the slowness with which the old thirteen North American colonies grew into unity. Cordial co-operation between the English and French-speaking Canadians is, of course, our great necessity. That must be based on justice, and on the limitation as far as possible of hostile and irritating forces, and of everything that would interfere with a good understanding between the two. Admittedly, the status recently given to the Jesuits has introduced a new element that cannot be disregarded. We can afford a good deal of wholesome neglect, but we can afford to neglect neither the unbroken testimony of history and the testimony of Roman Catholic nations and the Roman Catholic church to that remarkable order, nor the remarkably fine field for its tactics presented by the racial, religious and financial

position in Quebec, in connection with the present relation of the province to the Dominion. Whatever else the order may be, it glories in being the implacable and disciplined foe of Protestantism, while, whatever else Canada needs, she demands peace between Protestants and Roman Catholics as a necessary condition of strength and unity. Individuals may 'vert to this side or that, but sensible people know that it is hopeless to turn a Protestant people back to Romanism, and just as hopeless to convert a Roman Catholic people to any of the existing forms of Protestantism. This may sound Laodicean to bigots, fanatics and visonaries, that is, to all who identify Christianity with the organization or church to which they themselves belong. It is none the less the simple truth, demonstrated by three centuries and a half of history. Proselytism on either side, no matter what the expenditure of money, will detach only individuals, and these, as a rule, not worth much. It does so at the expense of checking internal movements. It excites irritation, arrests development and strengthens reaction. It is only since the Protestant churches have ceased to proselytize actively from each other that they have become friendly and are approximating.

We must agree to differ, with the prayer and hope that the Head of the church will find a way of uniting the two great historic confessions of Christianity, that have so long stood face to face as enemies, in a church of the future, grander that any existing church. In the meantime peace between them is the attitude

incumbent on all of us as Patriots and Christians.

In the past, though we did not understand one another as we ought, there was a general spirit of moderation, and therefore hope for the future. The progress of material civilization and the leaven of modern ideas might be trusted to do the rest. "He that believeth doth not make haste." The province of Quebec could not stand permanently aloof from the maritime provinces on one side and Ontario on the other, when all were united in one political organism. Not that the responsibility for past isolation is to be laid at the door of one race only. We were as ignorant of and indifferent to the good qualities of the habitants as they could be with regard to us. How much that is excellent in them we are still blind to! As a people they are to a great extent an unknown quantity. We need some one to reveal them as Charles Egbert Craddock has interpreted the people of the Tennessee mountains, and Cable the Creoles of Louisiana, and Rudyard Kipling the Anglo-Indian empire, and Tolstoi and his brother-novelists the Russian peasant and Russian society. Who that has once sailed up the St. Lawrence from Quebec, in the daylight, can help having it borne in upon him that there is there, in the very centre of our country, a Christian civilization that is not of our type, but that is altogether beautiful from some points of view? Each side of the great river is lined with houses, like a continuous street, clustering at convenient spots three or four miles apart into picturesque little villages, each with its own imposing

church, the centre of every sacred and secular interest for time and eternity to the whole population. For more than a hundred miles the eye cannot detect a single unpainted or unwhitewashed building. No tumbledown sheds, no ugly and irrelevant lean-to can be seen. Everything is clean, orderly, idyllic. It is Arcadia in the nineteenth century, Arcadia with steamboats, steam sawmills, the electric light and native ponies drawing little, rude primitive carts. There are not as many mortgages on the farms as in Ontario, but the homesteads and long barns promises comfort. There is tithe for the priest, courtesy for the stranger, plenty for everyone except the taxpayer. Who wishes to pay taxes that he can avoid? When the good man of the house sits on his own doorstep, smoking tobacco raised by himself, clad with wool from his own sheep and flax from his own fields, he must have an added sense of happiness when he reflects that no excise man or custom house officer has relieved him of twenty or thirty per cent., it may be with the politeness of Claude Duval, though it is usually with the brusque "stand and deliver" of the ordinary highwayman. If his brothers in other provinces choose to pay, well and good. They are within their right. Their money replenishes the national exchequer, and is not wholly wasted. But they have no right to quarrel with him for preferring what he considers a more excellent way. Jean Baptiste's view has its limitations, but he is too good a fellow to quarrel with on that account. Industrious, frugal, sober, and therefore generally blessed

with a large family! He does not worry his soul about the necessity of progress, but neither does Hodge nor the average English squire. There ought to be no difficulty in fraternizing with such a race, children of the soil, heirs of ancient glories, endowed with attractive virtues and graces. Left to themselves, the future was certain. The sons and daughters went to Montreal, Kingston, Deseronto, up the Ottawa, and in a stream of ampler volume to the factories of New England. They came in contact with our larger freedom and fuller life and carried back to their homes the good news that we were Christians of a sort, though each found a workable pope in his own Bible and his own breast. Peaceful development and gradual fusion, disturbed possibly by occasional outbursts of sectarian rancor on both sides, we might have looked for. But now that the Jesuit has come we shall look in vain for such a blessed future, for at least the next few years. The public sanction and endowment given to the order was a challenge to the Protestant churches, and they have too much respect for Loyola to despise the challenge. The men who love fighting are rather glad, but the men who believe that Christianity means peace on earth, and that the twin roots of the Nation should be allowed to grow into one, are sorry.

It has been said that it is not possible to distinguish between the Jesuits and the Roman Catholic church. Logically it may not be possible, but practically it is, and statesmen know that they have to deal with practice. Life is a good deal wider than logic.

If the distinction cannot be made, how came it that the only person to offer anything like effective resistance to the incorporation of the Jesuits was the head of the Roman Catholic church in Canada? He was overborne, but he succeeded in withholding legal existence from them in the dioceses round Quebec. Other Roman Catholic ecclesiastics acknowledge frankly in conversation that they dread and dislike the order, that their incorporation was a mistake, and their endowment the result of a political intrigue. How can a bishop who wishes to be master in his own house welcome the Jesuits to his diocese?

But what can be done now? you ask. Had not Quebec the right to do what it liked with its own money? I, for one, felt from the first that that argument could not be answered. Quebec may throw its millions into the St. Lawrence. But two things it may not do. It must not turn round to ask us to replace the millions, and it must not deny to people anywhere else the freedom that it claims for itself. If there is any clause or any loophole in the constitution, in virtue of which it can claim either of those wrongs, the constitution must be amended. Justice is the only basis on which there can be a good understanding between individuals or provinces. There must be no hesitation here. When Mr. Mercier gives liberal grants of money to the Jesuits, to the Protestant school board, to universities in and out of Quebec, to municipalities in debt, to colonization, repatriation and railway schemes, to every Roman Catholic and Protestant church that chooses to apply,

for each and all of which objects a strong moral claim can be urged, it is entirely his affair. But when he has received great applause and some measure of political support for a glorious concordat between church and state and for openhanded liberality, it will not do to turn round and ask us to pay the bill.

Yet that is the programme which has already been proposed, and which is sure to be pressed. It is a programme more ruinous to Quebec than to any other province. It means incalculable loss of money to all, for there is no such waste as when one spends and another finds the money, but to Quebec it means moral degradation as well. The game was played to a certain extent before, and it was a bad one for all of us, but now that the Jesuit has taken a hand, it can be played no longer. Every true Canadian, Protestant and Roman Catholic must unite to make it impossible. I could take no part in the equal rights agitation because I have no faith in the veto power, and the exercise of it—in the case of the bill protested against—would have done incredible harm.

Our constitution is essentially a federal one. Federalism means that each province shall be supreme within prescribed limits, and also that within the said limits each shall pay its own way and cheerfully concede to the smallest member of the federation the same justice that it claims for itself. If the men who pressed for their own rights to the extreme point are not willing to accept the corresponding responsibilities, the agitation, no matter by what name it may be called, must

go on and widen its basis by accepting Provincial autonomy in the frankest possible way.

Two objections are urged against this policy. It is said that if we give up the veto Canada will be not a nation but a mere bundle of provinces. Surely the example of the United States is sufficient to prove that a bundle of provinces or states may be a nation. All that is needed is a more careful definition of the respective regions of the Legislatures and the Parliament, with the judicial committee of the Privy Council or other Supreme Court to decide where the two disagree. It is also said that by the suggested policy we abandon the cause of the Protestant minority in Quebec. Yes, and the sooner we do it the better for themselves and the better all round. The French-Canadian majority can be trusted to do no injustice to the minority, when there are no sham buffers interposed between the two. So can the Protestant majority in the other provinces. It is high time that the minority in Quebec should trust, not to constitutional buckram, but to a cordial understanding with fellow-citizens who are naturally liberal, just and courteous.

This platform of provincial autonomy is one on which all can find room. It means justice for all, and a frank recognition that there are different types of sentiment and thought among us, and that it is right to give room for the free development of these. Who that has faith in the fundamental principles of modern society, or who that has studied the history of France, can have any doubt as to the result in Quebec?

France, both in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, handled the Jesuits with ease. Give Quebec a free hand, and in due time it will, while remaining Roman Catholic, abolish not only the Jesuits but the tithe, and make all the changes in education that may be required. But interference from without will simply strengthen reaction. Every province must have a liberty to err, a provincial right to do what seems to outsiders wrong. Our present system of divided financial responsibility and sham veto is a fruitful source of easily aroused prejudice and mistrust, and of government by corruption and intrigue. If the coming of the Jesuit has aroused us to the conviction that it is necessary to take our stand firmly on federalism, unless we are prepared to go steadily on from bad to worse, we shall owe him thanks after all. His great merit in Canada shall be that which has been assigned him in every other country, viz., that in spite of his ability he never succeeds.

The formation of a platform that aims at revision of the constitution requires time, whereas our danger is imminent, and immediate action is required. Of course, neither of the existing parties is mad enough to pay twenty or thirty millions additional to one province. Mr. Mercier is too astute to expect any such sum in one lump, but he understands the old saw, "Aim at being Pope, and you'll get to be Cardinal," or, more irreverently in Scotch, "Aim at the mune and you'll reach the midden," or perhaps better, "Aim at a silk goon, and you'll get a sleeve o't." Party, Sir

Richard Cartwright has told us, with his customary commendable frankness, is war, and as good men will do things in war that would be crimes in peace, what wonder if either party should be willing to pay two or three millions rather than see the country ruined by the triumph of the enemy? The payment of such a comparative trifle could easily be covered up under any one of a variety of pretty phrases. But, let us understand that this is a case where the two or three would be just as bad as the twenty or thirty. The disgrace would be the same, and the first payment would be simply the first instalment.

What must we do at once? We are a free people Let us show that we can act as free men. Let us send to Parliament men who are free, and not the bondmen of party; men who are prepared to support either of the existing parties in its general policy, but who can be trusted to draw the line there; still better, men who will not attend party caucuses, who will not seek office or ask for favors, but who will be true to their constituents and true to the sacred trust of the country. It is not enough that members of our high court adjudged guilty of "dishonorable, scandalous and corrupt conduct" should be frozen out and kept out. If we call a man thief we can no longer have him as a companion, except by going down to his level. What is true of the individual is true of a court, and the more august it is, the more necessary that it guard its own honor. But we must also have more men in Parliament like outspoken Professor Weldon.

I am proud of the present House of Commons. It is the best, because the most independent, that we have had. But we can make the next better, and it is time for us to be preparing to do our duty in this all-important matter. Of course, it is hard to find the right men, but they are to be found. In the search for them, however, the old adage that "one volunteer is worth two pressed men" must be rigorously reversed. It is harder still to get constituencies to elect the right men, but the day is coming when constituencies will canvass their wisest man to accept the nomination instead of expecting him to canvass them, and when all entrusted with votes shall be required by law to go to the polls, on penalty of being disfranchised. That is the kind of penalty that nature inflicts for neglect of trust. She gives us limbs, senses, faculties, but we must use them or lose them, whereas the blacksmith's arm gets strong and the artist's perception true, and "drawn wells waste not."

What an inspiration there is in having a share in the making of a Nation, and what a position Canada is in to become a great Nation! I do not refer to greatness in area or wealth or population. These are the lowest standards. It is lunacy for men to talk of Canada having a larger area than the United States, if they mean to imply that Canada has anything like the same extraordinary variety or boundless extent of natural resources. In making the boast, too, they add, "if we exclude Alaska," as if Alaska did not belong to the republic, or as if it were not worth a million or

two of our frozen square miles between the north pole and Labrador.

Canada is never likely to have more than a tenth of the population of the United States; but five millions, growing gradually to ten within the lifetime of some of us, are as many as one can get his arms round and enough certainly to make a nation; as many as England had in the great days of Elizabeth; far more than Athens had in the century after Marathon when she bore the statesmen, poets, philosophers, historians, mathematicians, men of science, artists and teachers, at whose feet the students of the world have sat for more than two thousand years; far more than Judea had in the golden age of that prophetic literature which is still so largely our guide and our inspiration to righteousness; far more than Rome had when her sun was at the zenith; for the glory of Rome was not when she held the east and west in fee, and Christian emperors like Constantine and Theodosius the Great ruled the world, but when, defeated at Trebia, Thrasymene and Cannæ, her fields wasted, her veteran legions annihilated, her young men slain or prisoners, scarce freemen enough left in Rome to form one legion more, she still wavered not an inch, but closed her gates, forbade mothers and wives to ransom their captive sons and husbands, and refused to discuss terms of peace while Hannibal remained in Italy.

Oh, for something of that proud consciousness of national dignity and of that stern public virtue which

is the strength of states! Why should we not have it in Canada to-day? We come of good stock. It It is not more millions either in men or money that we need most, but more of the old spirit in the men we have; not a long list of principles, but a clear insight into those that are fundamental. To give to each province a free hand within its own sphere, to be tolerant of diversities, to deal equal justice to all, to treat minorities considerately and to have faith in our country, this surely is a creed that can be taught at every fireside and in every school as well as on the hustings. These principles, tenaciously adhered to, will be sufficient. These duties, honestly discharged, will shed light on our course from day to day. We are asked simply to be true to ourselves and faithful to every brotherly covenant. With that spirit in our people, the national position of Canada is full of hope for the future and impregnable against every attack.

Secondly.—Next to our need of a better understanding of one another, is the need of a right attitude to other countries, especially to our neighbors. In speaking of this, the subject of our National aims comes up. Every great nation has contributed something to the cause of humanity. That is its divine mission and the reason for its existence. To that ideal it must on no account be false.

What does Canada intend to give to the world? What faith do we carry in our hearts? Depend upon it the future of individuals and of nations is determined by their own hearts and their actual posi-

tions in the world. Our position is peculiar. Since the Peace of Paris in 1763, when Canada, with the consent of all parties, became British, she has remained British. We believe that this was good for the inhabitants. Otherwise they would have remained under the bondage of the old regime, and when it broke up, they would have been sold as Louisiana was. Bonaparte cared nothing for the west. Good for vanquished and victors in the civil war that followed in the thirteen colonies of the south! Cities of refuge were provided in the forests of Ontario, on the banks of the St. John and the shores of the Atlantic for those true Loyalists, who otherwise would have been deported to the West Indies or have been made to fare even worse. The experiment of free government was thenceforward to be tried on this continent under different constitutional forms, and that, too, was gain. Good for the United States! Their chief foes have always been of their own household. Their best thinkers lament that tendency to national brag and bluster, with consequent narrowing of public life and deterioration of character, which success engendered. It is no pleasant thing for me to say an unkind word concerning our neighbors. They are our own flesh and blood. They are an example to us in a hundred ways. They have among them men and women who are the salt of the earth. In no country is it more necessary to distinguish between the froth of the surface and the pure liquor beneath, between the outcries that we hear first and the sober judgment and Christian sentiment

that find expression later on, between the selfishness of the politician and the calm wisdom and great heart of the saving remnant. Their wise men know that it was a good thing for them that their flag was kept on one side of the watershed of the continent.

The schism that took place when the thirteen colonies broke away from the Empire has been a grievous bar to their own development on the best side, and to the progress of humanity. No greater boon can be conferred on the race than the healing of that schism. That is the work that Canada is appointed by its position and history to do, if only it has a great enough heart for the work. How to do it will tax our wisdom as well as our faith. One thing is clear. We can do nothing if we barter our honor for some hope of immediate gain. The man who does not respect himself will never be respected by others. Much more is that true of a nation. The man may have death-bed repentance and a future life, but there is no life for the nation in the hereafter.

What is the right attitude for us? To guard the independence we have gained in the course of successive civil struggles, and to guard our national as carefully as we would our individual honor. Language is sometimes used that looks in the direction of surrendering our fiscal independence to a foreign power, and at the same time of discriminating against our own Empire and the rest of the world. The first means national extinction, and the second is as unreasonable and impossible as it would be for Britain to discrimi-

nate against us. The fewer restrictions on trade the better. Free trade would be good for us and better for our neighbors and next to free trade are fair treaties of reciprocity. But let us not use ambiguous language. Let us not call that unrestricted trade which means free trade with one foreign nation and prohibited trade with our own common-wealth and everyone else. That would ensure for us the contempt of the one foreign nation and the righteous indignation of all others with whom we are now trading.

I need say no more on this, for I believe that the independence and honor of Canada are safe with Canadian statesmen of both parties. If, however, any of them should waver, the people will not. Outside of the two planks named, tariff changes are questions of expediency, and must be discussed by experts. I for one, do not profess to be able to see any eternal principle at stake between seventeen and a half per cent, and twenty per cent. duty. Nor do I understand how the abolition of the old reciprocity treaty, the rejection of the agreements negotiated by Mr. Brown and Mr. Chamberlain, or the passing of the McKinley bill can be considered wise. In every case the action was injurious to the people of the United States. The last named bill will hurt us and hurt themselves more, but should it hurt us twice as much as some hope and others fear, we shall not lose our temper. For good or ill the Press represents us to a great extent when Parliament is not in session, and I trust that it will not misrepresent us now. Let us wait hopefully for

the time when our neighbors will be awakened to see that selfishness is blindness. Let us remember that we ourselves have not been wholly blameless in the past, and let us hope that we shall shake hands yet across the line, and letting bygones be bygones, unite in furthering the good old cause of righteousness and peace over the world. There have been two wars between Britain and the United States. In the first the mother and in the second the daughter was most to blame. The honors are thus easy between them, and sensible people have made up their minds that there shall be no third exhibition of what has been rightly called the sum of human folly and villainy. How can there be if the principle of arbitration is accepted? Great Britain and Canada are prepared to submit every dispute with the United States to impartial arbitration. The public cannot refuse the offer that the Queen has made in the hearing of the world, though every week's delay in accepting the offer exhibits the opposite of a neighborly spirit. Every day Canada is giving new hostages for peace.

There is a steady migration going on from northern to southern lands, in Europe, Asia and America. We see this even within the boundaries of the same country; in Russia, in Germany, in the United States. The movement does not mean that the northern countries are being depopulated. They are increasing in population. They remain, too, the homes of obedience to law, of purity, health and manly vigor. I expect that before long we shall have lost all our negro population,

and have gained instead Icelanders, Scandinavians, Jews and Germans. Already there are a million of Canadians, mostly white, in the United States. They go because of the greater variety of industries, or because of the mildness of the climate, or because centres of population attract, or because there is no extradition treaty, or for other good reasons. They go to better their condition, but they are at the same time missionaries of peace and good-will.

Why should all our young men stay at home? Their parents did not, or we should not be here. The young men of Britain go everywhere, opening up fresh fields, making new homes in every quarter of the globe whence are diffused the virtues of the highest civilization the earth has yet known, and yet the old country increases steadily in wealth, population and intelligence, while she retains also the moral leadership of the race. We need not be alarmed because some of our young men go to the United States, while others follow the flag to Africa and India, to explore the Aruwhimi, like Stairs, or rule in Uganda, like Huntley MacKay. We have lads enough and to spare. Those who stay at home will build up the country, and those who go abroad will save us from parochialism. Does anyone fancy that there would be no movement of population to the south if we made a change in our commercial policy or political allegiance? If so, we need not argue with him.

I have spoken of the high aim that Canadians should carry in their hearts, and always keep before

their eyes, when they think of the future. A great people will have a worthy aim, and such an aim will prove an ennobling inspiration. "It is best not to obey the passions of men; they are but for a season; it is our duty to regard the future," said Champlain, the man who built Quebec, and who may be regarded as the first great Canadian. We are to build up a North American Dominion, permeated with the principles of righteousness, worthy to be the living link, the permanent bond of union, between Britain and the United States. That ideal may be far in the distance. So is the pole star. Yet sailors steered by it for centuries.

But, you say, we must think of the present more than of the future. You ask me whether I have nothing to say with regard to our present duty. Here we are face to face with serious problems affecting our daily life, and pressing us in their most acute form, through the recent legislation of our neighbors. What should be our attitude with regard to these? For, here, too, as well as in home affairs, an immediate policy should be outlined, as immediate action is necessary. This question I might pass by, on the ground that events are wiser than men, and that the best answer to it will gradually be evolved out of the conflict of parties. But I shall endeavor to give my contribution towards an answer. Take it for what it is worth, remembering that I now speak with that submission which is called for when matters of expediency rather than matters of principle are concerned.

Let us first understand as clearly as possible the state the case. As regards the United States, its action has been long considered and fully discussed, and there is little likelihood of its being changed in a hurry. Those who tell us that the McKinley bill is the darkest hour that precedes the dawn, and that the dawn is already breaking, deceive themselves. I hope they shall not deceive us. In due time the light will break, but the man who waits for it will have to be almost as patient as the rustic who waits till the river has ceased running that he may cross dry shod.

We have to think of present duty as well as keep in mind what we may be called on to do ten or twenty years hence. For fifty years free traders in England have been declaring that the dawn was just about to break in the United States, yet what is the present position of affairs? The Republican party comprising a large majority of the sober, thoughtful and patriotic men of the northern, western and north-western states, is solidly protectionist. The Democratic party, comprising almost the whole of the rest of the people, does not dare to unfurl the flag of free trade. In the last election it spent its time trying to prove that it was more truly protectionist than the other party.

There is no present hope, then, of any radical change in the fiscal policy of our neighbors. They believe that their present policy gives them the advantages of both free trade and protection. It appeals too strongly to national selfishness and national vanity, as well as to their fervent patriotism and anti-Britain spirit, to be

cast hastily aside. No politician is likely to disregard the great forces that I have enumerated. They tell one another proudly of the happy lot of the American workingman compared with "the pauper labor" of Europe. They listen with unaffected delight to the groans which their flatterers tell them are now rising more despairingly than ever from all classes in the old world. They are not likely to tire soon of such stimulants. When anything goes wrong, their cry will certainly be, "More brandy." While this is the case as regards Europe, as regards Canada they have an additional reason for maintaining their national policy. We are on the same continent with them, but we are British. Once they were sure that our destiny was "to drop like a ripe plum" into their mouth—a nice fate, by the way, for the plum; but now they see that we are making a nation. Mr. Blaine expressed the general view when he declared openly that this was wholly incompatible with our having free trade with them. As he puts it, we cannot be "Canadians and Americans at the same time." Well, we mean to be Canadians anyway.

That is the present position in the United States. It is folly for us to shut our eyes to the facts. It is worse than folly to content ourselves with speculating on the possible results of the November elections, or for private persons to go to Washington and pass themselves off there as the authorized representatives of Canada. Let us always welcome the fullest freedom of speech, but conduct of that kind comes so near to

being treason to the country that I do not see how the charge can be escaped except on the plea of aberration. In stating the case, I have no intention of finding fault with the United States. Our own attitude proves that if we had been in their circumstances we would have acted in precisely the same way. We, too, are afraid of competing with what our neighbors call "Pauper labor," or even of competing with what one of our newspapers calls "the pauper hens of Holland, Germany and France." While our neighbors were preparing their unfriendly bill we gave them all the excuse that could have been desired by placing new taxes on their corn and pork; and at the very moment when we are more dependent than ever on the open markets of Britain, some of us propose to shut our doors against her, as the price of conciliating those who announce that we cannot be Canadians and Americans at the same time. The United States may be selfish in politics, but they have never proposed anything quite so selfish as that.

I have indicated the United States' position. The policy of Britain we all know. We are between the two. What course shall we take? If we imitate the United States we shall proceed to double our duties on almost everything that we tax now. Every sane man will admit that we cannot afford that. We simply cannot afford to make living in Canada dearer. If we imitate Great Britain we shall at once reverse all our previous policy. Almost everyone will admit that we cannot afford so violent a disturbance as that. Is there any middle course?

For answer, I shall indicate three points that I have thought out, though there is barely time now to do more than state them. First, that to fill the gap made by the McKinley bill in our volume of trade, we must look chiefly to an increased trade with Britain. In one way, the country that lies along side of us for three or four thousand miles is certainly our natural market, and I have no wish to argue with the people on either side of the line who refuse to admit that free trade with neighbors is a good thing. But it is just as certain that Great Britain is also our natural market. She is ready to take almost everything we produce, and distance by water is of far less consequence than distance by land. It is clear, too, that we must buy more from her as well as sell more to her, if we are to largely increase our dealings. Secondly, if we are to have commercial union with only one country it would be more natural to form such a union with Great Britain than with the United States. There would, in that case, be less disturbance even of our manufacturing interests; for the differences between Canada and Britain have led here to lines of manufactures in which, under any arrangement with her, we could easily hold our own, or even preserve an unchallenged supremacy. These lines of manufacture would be at once multiplied and strengthened by the introduction of the one article of free iron from Great Britain. On the other hand there is not a single line of manufactures in which the United States are not our keen competitors. With regard, again, to the manu-

factures in which Britain excels us, not only would consumers, in the event of free trade, get the benefit of cheap goods, but the merchants, especially along the borders, would find their business increasing by leaps and bounds. Besides, in any such union with Britain we could depend upon her stable trade policy and her friendliness, both matters of importance, as the history of our relations with the United States for half a century abundantly shows. Thirdly, retaliation by us would be ridiculous. I do not say that retaliation is out of the question in every case. Sometimes it is the best way of bringing others to a reasonable frame of mind. Cobden could never have made his celebrated convention with France if Britain had been previously admitting all French products free. He had something to offer that it was worth France's while to accept. In the same way Canada and Britain will not get any reasonable measure of free trade with the United States till unitedly they can offer something which in the opinion of Congress is as good as that which we want from them.

If then Canada would agree to abolish its duties on British products and manufactures, or even keep on them a small revenue tariff for a short time, and if Britain would agree to discriminate against countries refusing any reasonable reciprocity with her and us, that would give us the weapon we need. That course would have other advantages. In my opinion it would be the best course, not only for Canada but for Britain. Neither of our great parties will take it for obvious rea-

sons, but these parties are certain to break up before long; and if I were a young man going into political life I would nail my colors to it, simply because it is right in itself and most certain to lead to the best results. It would certainly teach the primer of free trade to the farmers of the United States. They are now in the fog and will remain in it for an indefinite time, until the lesson is taught them in this way. They could not complain, for even a little imitation is a sincere form of flattery. Besides, they have already done their worst. If you agree with me on these points, it follows that we should approach the British Government with a reasonable offer and find out whether any, and if so what, arrangement can be made. We have approached Washington time and again. Ought we not to try London now? We are dogmatically told that Britain will never discriminate. It will be time enough for us to believe that when we are willing to share in the sacrifice that any change requires, or when she herself says so. At any rate, that which is worth getting is worth asking.

It is clear to me that our policy should follow henceforth the British rather than the United States system. It is clear that if we are to throw in our lot fiscally with any other nation we should do so with the mother country. It is clear that we can approach her without loss of dignity, and I believe, too, that if we are prepared to pay the fair price we would get all the advantages from her that existing treaties permit. The people of Britain are free traders by conviction, but they believe that there is something more impor-

tant than a rigid adherence to the good rule of buying in the cheapest and selling in the dearest market. It is also clear to me that the trade theory of Britain is right, though it does not follow that no exceptions can ever be allowed or that there are not relative degrees of rightness. It is wrong in principle to limit trade to an island or a continent. At any rate, as far as we make changes, let us head in the direction of what is right, and not of what is wrong—not only with regard to the lines on which changes should be made in our tariff, but in other respects also.

Our policy must be decided. Since our neighbors will not trade with us, we must do everything in reason to open more widely the avenues of trade, not only with Britain but with related countries. Commercial treaties with the West Indies on one side and Australia on the other, a fast steamship service across the Atlantic, the deepening of the St. Lawrence canals, a cable and a line of steamships to Australia and New Zealand, a railway to Hudson bay, are all moves in the right direction.

But, while we may not agree on details, let us be at one on fundamental principles. There are matters of unspeakably greater importance to a people than the volume of its imports and exports or anything that can be tabulated in the most roseate-colored and most carefully prepared statistics.

Not by these things does a country live. A country lives and lives in history by what its people are. Very little thought did the men who made Canada

give to tariff questions. They were men who lived simple lives, and whose hearts of oak no privations shook. Everything we have we owe to them, and the more firmly we stand on their foundations and get back to their simple manners, robust faith and sincere patriotism, the better for us. We are living in a critical period. We need strong and true men. These will be given us if we are worthy of them. Let us take our stand on what is right, without any fear of consequences. All sorts of bogeys will be used to frighten us, all sorts of temptations to allure us from the path of honor. Against all these stand fast. Remember how the spirit of our fathers shone out again and again like a pillar of fire when the night was darkest. Oh yes, we come of good stock. Men emigrated to this new world who knew how to endure. They hoped to found in the forests of the west a state in which there would be justice for all, free scope for all, fair reward for labor, a new home for freedom, freedom from grinding poverty, freedom from the galling chain of ancient feuds, mutual confidence and righteousness between man and man, flowing from trust in God. They knew that there was no other sure foundation, no other permanent cohesion for the social fabric. These men yearned and prayed for the country. They were poor, yet they made rich all who came in contact with them. Some of them are still with us in the flesh, for Canada is only in its infancy. Let the knowledge that such men laid our foundations hallow our aims and give us faith in the country's future. I never despair.

DR. BOURINOT.

Responsible Government in Canada.

ITS HISTORY AND RESULTS.

Read before the National Club, Toronto, by J. George Bourinot, D.C.L., C.M.G., Clerk of the House of Commons of Canada.

THE political controversies that once agitated Canada, when Responsible Government was a battle cry in the political arena, have long since passed into the domain of the historian, and politicians of every party have for many years accepted the principle as essentially connected with national progress. If Canadians have now a confederation reaching from ocean to ocean; if Canada is now practically an independent portion of the British Empire for all purposes of local government; if her people have been able to assume large responsibilities and have aims and aspirations worthy of a nation, it is because there have been men who fought courageously for many years in the legislative halls, in the public press, and on the public platform, and succeeded at last in obtaining for the different communities of the Dominion those principles of responsible or local self-government, which have enabled its statesmen in these later times to carry on the great work which they are now en-

deavoring to accomplish on the northern half of this continent of America.

The constitution of Canada is not a purely artificial scheme of government, but like that of England is a systematical balance of social and political forces which is a natural outcome of its history and development.[1] Responsible government is but another term for Parliamentary government. It has happened in the history of Canada, as in that of the parent state, the principles which lie at the basis of the system were not formed into a code of written or unwritten law in a day or in a week, but were slowly evolved as a natural sequence of representative institutions. We do not find in any of the statutes which have emanated from the imperial parliament, as the central legislature of the whole Empire, any express or authoritative enunciation of the principle, or any enactment of rules of law which should govern the formation, the continuance in office, or the retirement, of a cabinet. It is true the British North America Act of 1867, which is the fundamental law of the Dominion as a federation, contains a vague statement in the preamble that the provinces "expressed their desire to be federally united into one Dominion with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom." Elsewhere in the act there are provisions for vesting the executive authority and government in the Queen, and for the appointment of a privy council to aid and advise the governor-general of Canada, and also for

1. See Green, "History of the English People," iv. 235.

the appointment of a lieutenant-governor and an executive council in the several provinces; but as respects their respective powers and functions, there is nothing more authoritative in our written constitution than in that of the United States [1] to confer upon a Cabinet the great responsibilities which it possesses in Canada as the chief executive and administrative body of the Dominion and of each province by virtue of its possessing the confidence of the respective legislatures. In Canada that great body of unwritten conventions, usages and understandings which have in the course of time grown up in the practical working of the English constitution form as important a part of the political system of Canada as the fundamental law itself which governs the federation.

This system of responsible government preceded the establishment of the Dominion by a quarter of a century, and was adopted or rather continued as indispensable to the efficient administration and harmonious operation of the government, not only of confederation as a whole but of its provincial entities, respectively. Its history must be traced through the various despatches of the secretaries of state, the instructions to the governors-general and lieutenant-governors, and in

1. In the constitution of the United States, however, there is a provision which, like a clause in the Act of Settlement, 1700, (Imp. Stat. 12 & 13 Will.. c. 2, s. 3), which was afterwards repealed, would prevent a Cabinet being responsible to Congress since it is expressly provided that "no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office." See Art 1, s. 6, U. S. Const.

the journals and debates of our legislative bodies for half a century past.

Parliamentary institutions in any shape were unknown to Canada under the French regime which lasted from 1608 to 1759. Its government during that period was in the hands of a governor, an intendant or minister of finance and police, and a council, which possessed executive and judicial powers. Its functions were carefully defined and restrained by the decrees and instructions of the French King, in conformity with the principle of centralization and absolutism that was the dominant feature of French government until the revolution. It was a paternal government which regulated all the political, social and even religious affairs of the country, for the Roman Catholic Bishop made himself all influential in council from the very beginning of French colonial history, and the people were practically mere automatons to be directed and moved according to the King's sovereign will.

When New France became a possession of England, and the question arose how it was to be governed, provision was made in general terms for the establishment of representative institutions as in the old English colonies. The proclamation of King George III., which was issued in 1763, a severely criticised document on account of its want of clearness,[1] gave expression to the English idea that a representative system in some form or other was a natural consequence of British rule.

1. Bourinot, "Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada," p. 9, note.

"In the old colonial system" says Professor Seeley, "assemblies were not formally instituted, but grew up of themselves because it was the nature of Englishmen to assemble. Thus the old historian of the colonies, Hutchinson, writes under the year 1619 [twelve years after the foundation of Jamestown, and eleven years later than Champlain's arrival at Quebec]. 'This year a house of burgesses *broke out* in Virginia.'"[1] But the Frenchmen of Canada knew nothing of those institutions, so familiar and natural to Englishmen from the earliest days of their history, and even if they had been disposed to elect a representative house, the fact that all were Roman Catholics, and still subject to certain political disabilities,[2] stood in the way of such a result. Then a few years later, followed the Quebec Act which removed these disabilities and established a system of government which restored the civil law of French Canada, if indeed it had ever been legally taken away, and gave the people a legislative council, nominated by the Crown. In accordance with his instructions the governor subsequently appointed also a council to assist him in the administration of public affairs. Whilst the English settlers of the province of Canada, received with dismay and dissatisfaction a form of government which made French law prevail in civil matters, and prevented the meeting of an assembly, the French Canadians were naturally satisfied with the guarantees given them for the perpetuation of their old

1. "Expansion of England," p. 67.

2. The Proclamation of 1763 obliged them to take a test oath.

institutions, and, ignorant of an English representative system, accepted gratefully one which was far more liberal than that under which they had been so long governed. Fourteen years later the imperial parliament again interfered in Canadian matters, and passed the "Constitutional Act" of 1791, which established the two provinces of Upper Canada and Lower Canada, and by separating in this way, as far as possible, the English from the French Canadians, gave French Canada remarkable opportunities for establishing her language, civil law, and other institutions on a permanent basis.

By the beginning of the present century, there were representative institutions in the five provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. It was asserted authoritatively that the object of the Imperial Government was to give the colonial peoples a system as like as possible to that of England. One lieutenant-governor called it "an image and transcript of the British constitution."[1] So far as having a permanent head of the executive and a council to advise the governors, and a legislature composed of two houses, there was a similarity between the English and the Canadian constitutions. The essential differences, however, lay in the absence of any responsibility on the part of the executive councils to the people's assembly, and to the little

1. Lientenant-governor Simcoe, in closing the first session of the legislature of Upper Canada. Bourinot, "Manual of Constitutional History," p. 25, note.

or no control allowed to the latter over the revenues, expenditures and taxation of the country. It would have been more correct to state that the Canadian system of those early times bore a likeness to the old colonial system in its latest phases when the crown-appointed governors were constantly in collision with the representative bodies. [1]

Up to 1838, when the constitution of Lower Canada was suspended on account of the political difficulties in the province, the government of the provinces might be considered under the following authorities, their power being, generally speaking, in the order I give them.

The Secretary of State for the colonial and war department, who had the supervision of the colonial governments.[2]

1. Writing of the perpetual antagonism between the legislative bodies and the royal governors, Fisk says ("Civil government in the United States," p. 161,) that it "was an excellent schooling in political liberty, a remark quite applicable to Canada."

2. In 1768 there was a secretary of state for the American or colonial department, and the council of trade and plantations, created in 1660, continued in existence. On the loss of the old colonies the council and secretary of state were abolished, and their powers delegated to a committee of the privy council. Colonial affairs were administered by a branch of the home department until 1784, when a committee for foreign trade and foreign plantations was appointed. For some years the secretary for war and home affairs was also nominally colonial secretary, but it was not until 1801 that the departments of war and the colonies were actually united. From

The Governor-general of Canada, and Lieutenant-governors of the other provinces, the latter being practically independent of the former, and acting directly under imperial instructions and commissions.

The Executive Council appointed by the foregoing officials and owing responsibility to them alone.

The Legislative Council, composed for the most part of executive councillors appointed for life by the crown; that is to say, practically by the governors.

The Legislative Assembly, elected by the people on a restricted franchise, claiming but exercising little or no control over the government or finances of the provinces.

In the provinces by the sea there was no formal division between the executive and legislative councils as in the upper provinces, but the legislative council exercised at once legislative and executive functions.[1]

1794 the committee for trade and foreign plantations gradually ceased to have any connection with colonial affairs. Since 1854 a principal secretary of state has administered colonial affairs. See Colonial Office List, 1890, pp. 7, 8.

1. This system was modelled on that of a number of the old colonies. "The governor always had a council to advise with him and assist him in his executive duties in imitation of the King's privy council in England. But in nearly all the colonies this council took part in the work of legislation, and thus sat as an upper house, with more or less power of reviewing and amending the acts of the assembly." Fiske, "Civil government in the United States," p. 155. The system was in operation in the Royal or Provincial colonies, to which class Nova Scotia also belonged. See Scott, "Development of Constitutional Liberty," pp. 35, 36.

The governing body in all the provinces was virtually the legislative council which was entirely out of sympathy with the great body of the people, and with their immediate representatives in the assembly, since it held its position by the exercise of the prerogative of the crown, and possessed a controlling influence with the governors, not only by virtue of its mode of appointment, but from the fact that its most influential members were also executive councillors. In the contest that eventually arose in the working out of this political system between the governors and the assemblies for the control of the revenues and expenditures, and the independence of the judiciary, and other questions virtually affecting the freedom and efficiency of government, the legislative council in every province was arrayed as a unit on the side of prerogative, and at one time or other opposed every measure and principle in the direction of wider political liberty. It is easy then to understand that in all the provinces, and especially in Lower Canada to the very day of Papineau's ill-advised outbreak, the efforts of the popular leaders were chiefly directed to break down the power of the legislative council and obtain a change in its constitution from the imperial authorities. The famous ninety-two resolutions of 1834, which embodied in emphatic phrases the grievances of the popular majority of French Canada, do not directly or indirectly refer to the English system of having in parliament a set of ministers responsible to, and dependent on, the majority of the popular house, but make a fierce on-

slaught on the upper chamber. Even in the provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick the opinion of the leaders of the popular body appears to have hesitated for a while between a change in the constitution of the legislative council, and the creation of a responsible ministry. A set of resolutions which were passed as late as 1837 by the assembly of Nova Scotia on the motion of Mr. Howe, confessedly the ablest and most eloquent exponent of responsible government, were aimed against the legislative council, "combining legislative, judicial and executive powers, holding their seats for life, and treating with contempt or indifference the wishes of the people, and the representations of the Commons," and concluded with the proposition that "as a remedy for these grievances, his Majesty be implored to take such steps either by granting an elective legislative council, or by such other reconstruction of the local government as will ensure responsibility to the Commons."

Of course when we look back at the history of this question we should bear in mind that responsible government, as we now possess it, was necessarily a consequence of the political development of the people. In 1792 the people of French Canada were certainly not ripe for such a system, and the British government might well hesitate before entrusting so large a measure of freedom to a French Canadian majority, without experience of parliamentary government. But it could not have been a question at all under consideration in those early days. Canadian writers en-

tirely ignore the fact that the system had been only working itself out in England under many difficulties since 1688, and was not even yet well understood in the parent state, and certainly not by the people at large. Writers like DeLolme and Blackstone, whose books were published a few years before 1791, never devoted even a foot-note to a responsible cabinet or ministry, and no constitutional writers, until the last half of this century, attempted to formulate the rules and conventions which regulate this system of unwritten law.[1] The framers of the American constitution of 1787 never discussed it, simply because they did not understand it.[2] The system of government established in the provinces was intended to be an improvement from the imperial point of view on the old colonial system, and to give as great a strength as possible to the executive authority. Sir James Craig, and many of his successors until the arrival of Lord Gosford were fitting representatives of an autocratic sovereign like George III., who attempted for years to govern through advisers perfectly willing to be mere cyphers in his hands and acknowledge their real responsibility

1. It is a fact ofwhich Canadians should be proud, that the late Dr. Todd, librarian of the Parliament of Canada, wrote the fullest and ablest exposition of the principles and workings of Parliamentary Government that has yet appeared in any country.

2. "In 1787," says Professor Bryce, "when the constitutional convention met at Philadelphia, the cabinet system of government was in England still immature. It was so immature that its true nature had not been perceived." "The American Commonwealth," 1, p. 273. See also 1, 35, 36.

was to him and not to parliament. It was not until the close of the eighteenth century, a short time before the passage of the Constitutional Act of 1791, when the younger Pitt became the head of administration, that the authority of the king diminished in the councils of the country, and responsible government was established on its proper basis.[1] Public men in the United States as well as in the colonies of Canada, might well believe that the king and the parliament were the supreme authorities, and that the ministry was an entirely subordinate body, apparently under the influence of the Sovereign. As a matter of fact, parliamentary government in England itself was in those days virtually on its trial, and statesmen were from their experience year by year formulating for us in these later times those principles and rules which would bring the executive into entire harmony with the legislative authority. According as the power of the House of Commons increased, ministers acknowledged their responsibility to parliament, and personal government, like that of the Stuarts and of George III., became an impossibility. The King gained in dignity as soon as his ministers assumed that full measure of responsibility of all affairs of state which is in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Eng-

1. See Todd, "Parliamentary Government in England," ii. 163, 171. And more particularly the first chapter of May's Constitutional History, vol. i. pp. 15-104, where the influence of George III. over his ministry and in the government of England is clearly stated.

lish constitution, and the permanency of the British system of government became more assured by the agreement between the three branches of the legislature. In the same way in Canada the people had to work the system for themselves out of their own experiences. Until, however, the necessity of applying the system of the colonies became obvious even to the dull eyes of English statesmen, the governors of the provinces were, from the very nature of things, so many autocrats, constantly in collision with the popular element of the country. In some respects the governors of those days were to be pitied. Little versed as many of them were in political science and more learned as they were in military than constitutional law, they might quite naturally at times give expression to a little impatience under the working of a system which made them responsible to the imperial authorities who were ever vacillating in their policy, sometimes ill-disposed to sift grievances to the bottom, and too often dilatory in meeting urgent difficulties with prompt and effective remedial measures.[1] It is quite certain that until the time of Lord Durham, no governor-general or lieutenant-governor ever thoroughly appreciated the exact position of affairs in Canada or even suggested in a despatch a remedy that would meet the root of the evil, and satisfy the public mind.

The necessary change was brought about with surprising rapidity when the difficulties of the long strained

1. See Bourinot, "Canadian Studies in Comparative Politics," p.

situation in the provinces culminated in uprisings of malcontents in two provinces. The people of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had always pursued a constitutional agitation, and by the time of the arrival of Lord Durham in Canada Mr. Howe and his friends had succeeded in obtaining the redress of not a few grievances. That nobleman, and his chief adviser, Chas. Buller,[1] immediately understood that an elective legislative council was not the true panacea that would cure the body politic of its grievous sores, and the result of their inquiries was a report which, in its clear and impartial statement of the political difficulties of the country, and in its far-reaching consequences, must take a place among the great charters and state documents that have moulded the English constitution. If the authors had written no other sentence than the one which I here quote they would have deserved the gratitude of the people of Canada:

"I know not how it is possible to secure harmony in any other way than by administering the government on those principles which have been found perfectly efficacious in Great Britain. I would not impair a single prerogative of the crown; on the contrary, I believe that the interests of the people of these pro-

1. No doubt Charles Buller must share the credit in all respects with Lord Durham for the authorship of this report; and indeed it is claimed that he wrote it in its entirety. Read Mr. Howe's just eulogy of that able writer and statesman, too soon lost to English public life. Howe, "Speeches and Public Letters," i. p. 566, 567.

vinces require the protection of prerogatives which have not hitherto been exercised. But the crown must, on the other hand, submit to the necessary consequences of representative institutions; and if it has to carry on the government in unison with a representative body, it must consent to carry it on by means of those in whom that representative body has confidence." [1]

The history of the concession of responsible government has its perplexities for the historical writer on account of the hesitation that marked the action of the imperial government and of the governors of some of the provinces when it was generally admitted that the time had come for adopting a new and liberal colonial policy. Before the appearance of Lord Durham's report, it is quite clear that the imperial government had no intention to introduce immediately the English system in its completeness into the provinces. Even in the provinces themselves there was much indecision in coming to a definite conclusion on the subject. Joseph Howe had not hesitated to say in 1837 when moving the resolutions against the legislative council:

"You are aware, Sir, that in Upper Canada an attempt was made to convert the executive council into the semblance of an English ministry, having its members in both branches of the legislature, and holding their positions while they retained the confidence of the country. I am afraid that these colonies, at all events this province, is scarcely prepared for the erec-

1. Page 106 of Report.

tion of such machinery; I doubt whether it would work well here; and the only other remedy that presents itself is, to endeavor to make both branches of the legislature elective."

But Mr. Howe, like other public men of those days in Canada, was soon brought to demand responsible government in the full sense of the term. In fact, it is to him and to the advocates of responsible government in Upper Canada that the chief credit must be given for the eventual establishment of the system, as we now possess it.[1] In Lord Russell's despatches in 1839—the sequence of Lord Durham's report—we can clearly see the doubt in the minds of the imperial authorities whether it was possible to work the system on the basis of a governor directly responsible to the parent state, and at the same time acting under the advice of ministers who would be responsible to a colonial legislature.[2] But the colonial secretary had obviously come to the opinion that it was necessary to make a radical change which would ensure greater harmony between the executive and the popular bodies of the provinces. In these same de-

1. Even as early as 1829 Mr. Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, father of the present governor-general of Canada, presented a petition from several thousand inhabitants of Toronto, praying that judges might be placed on the same independent tenure that they occupied in England, and expressing the hope "that they might have a local and responsible administration" in Upper Canada. See MacMullen, History of Canada, p. 370.

2. See his despatches of 1839, in the Journals of Leg. Ass. of Canada, 1841, App. BB.

spatches, which were forwarded to all the governors, he laid down the principle that thereafter "the tenure of colonial offices held during Her Majesty's pleasure will not be regarded as a tenure during good behaviour," but that "such officers will be called upon to retire from the public service as often as any sufficient motives of public policy may suggest the expediency of that measure. Her Majesty," he states emphatically, "had no desire to maintain any system of policy among her North American subjects which opinion condemns," and there was "no surer way of earning the approbation of the Queen than by maintaining the harmony of the executive with the legislative authorities. Mr. Poulett Thomson was the governor-general expressly appointed to carry out this new policy. If he was extremely vain,[1] at all events he was also astute, practical, and well able to gauge the public sentiment by which he should be guided at so critical a period of Canadian history. The evidence is clear that he was not individually in favor of responsible government as it was understood by Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Howe when he arrived in Canada. He believed that the council should be one "for the governor to consult and no more," and voicing the doubts that still existed in the minds of imperial statesmen, he added, the governor "cannot be responsible to the government at home" and also to the legislature of the province; if it were so, "then all colonial government becomes im-

1. This was Greville's opinion of him. See his Journals, under date of January 30th, 1836.

possible." The governor in his opinion, "must therefore be the minister, in which case he cannot be under the control of men in the colony." Sir Francis Hincks, whose opinion in these matters is worthy of consideration, has expressed his belief that Lord Sydenham at the outset had hopes of "being able to find subordinates who would undertake to defend his policy in the house of assembly," and that his object was "to crush party connection."[1] Be that as it may, Lord Sydenham probably soon found after he had been for a while in the country, and had frequent opportunities of consulting with the leaders of the popular party who well knew the temper of the country at large, that if he wished to accomplish the union successfully —the principal object of his visit at that time—he would have to temporize at the least, and disguise his own conception of the best way of carrying on the government of the country. When the assembly met it was soon evident that the reformers in the body were determined to have a definite understanding on the all-important question of responsible government, and the result was that the governor-general, a keen politician, immediately recognized the fact that, unless he yielded to the feeling of the majority, he would lose all his influence, and it is well known that the resolutions which were moved by Mr. Harrison and eventually passed in favor of responsible government, in amendment to those moved by Mr. Baldwin, had

1. See Hincks, "Reminiscences of his public life," p.p. 41 et seq.

his full approval before their introduction.[1] The two sets of resolutions practically differed little from each other, and the inference to be drawn from the political situation of those times is that the governor's friends in the council thought it advisable to gain all the credit possible with the public for the passage of resolutions on the all-absorbing question of the day, since it was obvious that it had to be settled in some definite and satisfactory form. As these resolutions form the first authoritative expression of the almost unanimous opinion of the colonial legislature on the question, I give their text in full:

1. "That the head of the executive government of the province being within the limits of his government the representative of the sovereign is responsible to the imperial authority alone, but that, nevertheless, the management of our local affairs can only be conducted by him, by and with the assistance, counsel and information of subordinate officers in the province.

2. "That in order to preserve between the different branches of the provincial parliament that harmony which is essential to the peace, welfare and good government of the province, the chief advisers of the representative of the sovereign, constituting a provincial administration under him, ought to be men possessed of the confidence of the representatives of the people; thus affording a guarantee that the *well understood*

1. See Scrope, Life of Lord Sydenham, 1st ed, pp. 247, 272, 274. Also Sir Francis Hincks' opinion on the same subject, "Reminiscences of his public life," p. 42.

wishes and interests of the people, which our Gracious Sovereign has declared shall be the rule of the provincial government, will on all occasions be faithfully represented and advocated.[1]

3. "That the people of this province have moreover a right to expect from such provincial administration the exertion of their best endeavors that the imperial authority, within its constitutional limits, shall be exercised in the manner most consistent with their well understood wishes and interests."

The close of the first session of the first legislature of Canada, after the union of 1841, saw responsible government virtually adopted in that province as the fundamental basis of its political system, although for a few years its development was in a measure retarded by the ill-advised efforts of Lord Metcalfe (who came fresh from India, where English officials were so many mild despots in their respective spheres), to assert the prerogatives of the head of the executive in the spirit of times which had passed away, and to govern according to the ideas which it appears Lord Sydenham himself privately entertained when he first came to Canada. The critical period of responsible government

1. Lord Sydenham, in answer to an address from the assembly of Upper Canada, 1839, said that he had "received Her Majesty's commands to administer the government of these provinces in accordance with the well understood wishes and interests of the people." See Christie, "History of Lower Canada," v. 353. Also Bourinot, "Manual of Constitutional History," p. 37.

in the Maritime provinces as well as in Canada, extended from 1839 to 1848. In New Brunswick Sir John Harvey, the lieutenant-governor, at once recognized in Lord John Russell's despatches "a new and improved constitution;" and by a circular memorandum informed the heads of departments that thenceforward their offices would be held by the tenure of public confidence.[1] Unfortunately for Nova Scotia there was at that time at the head of the government a brave but obstinate old soldier, Sir Colin Campbell, who had petrified ideas on the sanctity of the prerogatives of the crown, and honestly believed that responsible government was fraught with peril to imperial interests. He steadily ignored the despatches which had so much influence on the situation of affairs in the other provinces, until at last such a clamor was raised about his ears that the imperial government quietly removed him from a country where he was creating dangerous complications. Nova Scotia, from the time Mr. Howe moved his resolutions on the subject in the assembly, had been making steady headway towards responsible government, as a result of the changes that were made by Lord Glenelg (truly described "as one of the most amiable and well disposed statesmen who ever presided over the colonial department")[2] in the position of the

1. See Howe, "Speeches and Public Letters," i. 220.

2. This is a quotation from Howe's "Speeches and Public Letters," i. 144, a work having on the title page the name of W. Annand, M.P.P., as editor, but well understood to have been written word for word by Mr. Howe himself.

legislative council which was at last separated from the executive authority. But the executive council was very far from being in accord with public opinion, and its members had no political sympathy with each other. The governor's friends predominated and acknowledged no responsibility to the assembly. When Lord Falkland was appointed lieutenant-governor there was every expectation that the political agitation that had so long disturbed the province would disappear, at least so far as it could in a country where every man is a born politician; and indeed for a while it seemed as if the new governor would exhibit that tact and judgment which were so essential at a time when a new system of government was in course of development, and it was necessary to respect the aspirations of the popular party, without unduly wounding the feelings of the men who had for so long controlled the affairs of government, and acted as if they had a monopoly of them for all time. But the choice of Lord Falkland was in many respects unfortunate. In the provinces, under the old regime, there were two classes of governors who did much harm in their way. First of all, there were the military governors, like Sir James Craig and Sir Colin Campbell, well-meaning and honest men, but holding extreme ideas of the importance of the prerogatives of the crown, and too ready to apply the rules of the camp to the administration of public affairs; and then there were the gentlemen who wished to recruit narrow fortunes, had no very high opinion

of "the fellows in the colonies,"[1] and in most cases obtained the position not from any high merit of their own but as a result of family or political influence. Lord Falkland appears to have belonged to the latter class and it did not reflect much on the sagacity of the government, who chose at a critical period of provincial history a man who clearly had no very correct idea of the principles of the new system he had to administer. He quarrelled with the leaders of the liberal party in a most offensive way, and even descended himself into the field of political controversy. He used every possible effort to oppose the development of responsible government, and in doing so threw himself into the arms of the party that had so long ruled in social and political life in Nova Scotia. It is certainly a curious coincidence that at a time when responsible government was understood to be practically conceded, Lord Falkland and Lord Metcalfe should have been simultaneously sent to preside over the provinces of Canada and Nova Scotia; but it is not at all probable that they were sent out with any sinister motives to impede the development of the new system.[2] They happened to be the two men whom

1. Lord Sydenham in one of his letters applies this expression to the members of the legislature. See Scrope's Life, p. 234.

2. Mr. Howe in his collection of "Letters and Public Speeches," i. 393, traces "a mysterious connection" between the two governors; but he quotes in a subsequent page an extract from a speech in parliament of Lord Stanley, then secretary of state for the colonies, in which he states that the "principle of responsible government had been fully and frankly conceded on the part of the government." See. i. 427.

the colonial office found most convenient at hand, and like other appointments of the kind in those days they were despatched without any special inquiry into their qualifications for the important responsibilities they had to discharge. Like Sir Francis Bond Head, the new lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia was an example of a man who had greatness thrust upon him; for there were some people cruel enough to say at the time of the former's appointment that he received a position that was really intended for his able kinsman, who became in later times governor-general of Canada[1] —another apt illustration of the blindness which colonial secretaries in those days were wont to show. The history of the contest in Nova Scotia became much more interesting in some respects than that of Canada, as soon as the governors began to develop their reactionary policy. Mr. Howe was a poet as well as an orator, and it is curious to note that Nova Scotia has given birth to the few humorists that Canada can claim. "Sam Slick" was a Nova Scotian, and Mr. Howe, who was the first to publish his writings, had also a deep sense of humor which was constantly brightening his speeches and writings. It must be admitted that his humor was sometimes rather that of Fielding and Smollet than of Hood and Lamb, and was not always suited to these more self-restrained times.[2] Some of the most patriotic verses ever written

1. Sir Francis Hincks' "Reminiscences, &c.," pp. 14, 15. Goldwin Smith doubts this story, "Canadian Question," p. 115.

2. An eminent governor-general has very aptly, in the present writer's hearing, styled Mr. Howe's humor as "a little robust."

by a Canadian can be found in his collection of poems; but relatively very few persons now-a-days recollect those once famous satirical attacks upon Lord Falkland, which gave great amusement to the people throughout the province, and made the life of that nobleman almost unbearable. These verses contain too many local allusions to be appreciated by those who are not thoroughly conversant with the history of those times, and I shall content myself with a quotation from "The Lord of the Bedchamber"—an allusion to one of the positions previously held by the lieutenant-governor. The following verses are supposed to show Lord Falkland's opinion of the troublesome House of Assembly, and his way of conciliating some of its unruly elements.

The Lieutenant-governor is supposed to be in his bedroom, waiting for a reply to a message he had sent some time before to the people's house:

"No answer! The scoundrels how dare they delay!
Do they think that a man who's a peer,
Can thus be kept feverish, day after day,
In the hope that their speaker 'll appear.

"How dare they delay when a Peer of the Realm,
And a Lord of the Bedchamber, too,
To govern them all has been placed at the helm,
And to order them just what to do.

"Go D-dy; go D-dy, and tell them from me,
That like Oliver Crom. I'll come down,
My orderly sergeant mace-bearer shall be,
And kick them all out of the town."

These remarks are supposed to be addressed by the governor in the secrecy of his chamber, to one of his pliant friends who ventured to hint that it might not, for him, be quite safe to repeat what was said:

"They've got some odd notions, the obstinate crew,
That we are their servants—and they
A sergeant have got, and a stout fellow too,
Who their orders will strictly obey.

"Besides, though the leader and I have averred,
That justice they soon shall receive,
'Tis rather unlucky that never a word
That we say will the fellows believe.

"How now, cries his Lordship, deserted by you
I hope you don't mean to retire,
Sit down, sir, and tell me at once what to do,
For my blood and my brain are on fire."

Then the governor's pliant friend suggests a method of settling matters, quite common in those old times:

"Suppose: and his voice half recovered its tone,
You ask them to dinner, he cried,
And when you can get them aloof and alone,
Let threats and persuasion be tried.

"If you swear you'll dissolve, you may frighten a few,
You may wheedle and coax a few more,
If the old ones look knowing, stick close to the new,
And we yet opposition may floor."

This advice was obviously palatable to his Lordship:

I'll do it, my D-dy- I'll do it this night,
Party government still I eschew,
But if a few parties will set you all right,
I'll give them and you may come too.

The Romans of old, when to battle they press'd
Consulted the entrails, 'tis said,
And arguments, if to the stomach addressed,
May do more than when aimed at the head." [1]

In this way the political fighters of the maritime provinces diversified the furious contest that they fought with the lieutenant-governors, and it was certainly better that the people should be made to laugh than be hurried into such unfortunate uprisings as occurred in the upper provinces. Happily such a style of controversy has also passed away with the cause of irritation, and no Lord Falkland could be found now-a-days to step down into the arena, and make a personal issue of political controversies.

Lord Metcalfe left the country a disappointed and dying man, and Lord Falkland was stowed away in the East, in Bombay, where he could do little harm; and with the appointment of Lord Elgin to Canada, and of Sir John Harvey to Nova Scotia, and with a clear enunciation on the part of Earl Grey of the rules that should govern the conduct of governors in the administration of colonial affairs, the political atmosphere cleared at last, and responsible government became an accomplished fact. Since those days we have had a succession of governors who have endeavored to carry out honestly and discreetly the wise colonial policy

1. Some one might write a very interesting essay on the influence of dinners in politics as well as in domestic life. I have known very important political results to arise from dinners given by governors and political leaders.

which was inaugurated at the union of 1841, and the difficulties which Lord John Russell anticipated have disappeared, or rather have never actually occurred in the practical operation of a system of government which has proved itself the best safeguard of imperial interests.

In the history of the past there is much to deplore—the blunders of English ministers, the want of judgment on the part of governors, the selfishness of "family compacts," the arrogance of office-holders, the recklessness of Canadian politicians. But the very trials of the crisis through which Canada passed brought out the fact that, if English statesmen had mistaken the spirit of the Canadian people, and had not always taken the best methods of removing grievances, it was not from any studied disposition to do these countries an injustice, but rather because they were unable to see until the very last moment that, even in a Colony, a representative system must be worked in accordance with those principles that obtained in England, and that it was impossible to direct the internal affairs of dependencies many thousand miles distant through a colonial office, generally managed by a few clerks. These very trials proved that the great body of the people had confidence in England giving at last due heed to their complaints, and that the sound sentiment of the country was represented, not by Mackenzie or Papineau—who proved at the last that they were not of heroic mould—but rather by the men of cool judgment and rational policy, who, throughout this critical period of Canadian history, believed that constitutional

agitation would best bring about a solution of the difficulties which had so long agitated the provinces.

Of all the conspicuous figures of those memorable times, which already seem so far away from us who possess so many political rights, there are three which stand out more prominently than all others and represent the two distinct types of politicians who influenced the public mind during the first part of this century. These are Papineau, Baldwin, and Howe. Around the figure of the first there has always been a sort of glamour which has helped to conceal his vanity, his rashness, and his want of political sagacity, which would have, under any circumstances, prevented his success as a safe statesman, capable of guiding a people through a trying ordeal. His eloquence was fervid and had much influence over his impulsive countrymen, his sincerity was undoubted, and in all likelihood his very indiscretions made more palpable the defects of the political system against which he so persistently and so often justly declaimed. He lived to see his countrymen enjoy power and influence under the very union which they resented, and find himself no longer a leader among men, but isolated from a great majority of his own people, and representing a past whose methods were antagonistic to the new regime that had grown up since 1838. It would have been well for his reputation had he remained in obscurity on return from exile, and never stood on the floor of a united parliament since he could only prove in those later times that he had never understood the true working of responsible

government. The days of reckless agitation had passed, and the time for astute and calm statesmanship had come. Lafontaine and Morin were now safer political guides for his countrymen. He soon disappeared entirely from public view, and in the solitude of his picturesque château amid the groves that overhang the Ottawa River, only visited from time to time by a few staunch friends, or by curious tourists who found their way to that quiet spot, he passed the remainder of his days with a tranquility in wondrous contrast to the stormy and eventful drama of his life. I have often seen his noble, dignified figure,—even erect in age—passing unnoticed on the streets of Ottawa, when perhaps at the same time there were strangers walking through the lobbies of the parliament house and asking to see his portrait.

One of the most admirable figures in the political history of the Dominion was undoubtedly Robert Baldwin. Compared with other popular leaders of his generation, he was calm in counsel, unselfish in motive, and moderate in opinion. If there is some significance in the political phrase, "Liberal-Conservative," it could be applied with justice to him. He, too, lived for years after his retirement from political life, almost forgotten by the people for whom he worked so fearlessly and sincerely.

Joseph Howe, too, died about the same time as Papineau—after the establishment of the federal union; but unlike the majority of his compeers, who struggled for popular rights, he was a prominent figure in public

life until the very close of his career. All his days—even when his spirit was sorely tried by the obstinacy and indifference of some English ministers, he loved England, for he knew, after all, it was in her institutions his country could best find prosperity and happiness, and it is an interesting fact, that among the many able essays and addresses which the question of Imperial Federation has drawn forth, none in its eloquence, breadth, and fervor can equal his great speech on the Consolidation of the Empire. The printer, poet and politician died at last at Halifax the Lieutenant-governor of his native province in the famous old government house, admittance to which had been denied him in the stormy times of Lord Falkland. A logical ending assuredly to the life of a statesman who, with eloquent pen and voice, in the days when the opinions he held were unpopular in the homes of governors and social leaders, ever urged the claims of his countrymen to exercise that direct control over the government of their country which should be theirs by birth, interest and merit.

In the working out of Responsible government for the last half century there stand out, clear and well defined, certain facts and principles which are at once a guarantee of efficient home government and of a harmonious co-operation between the dependency and the central authority of the Empire.

1. The misunderstandings that so constantly occurred between the Legislative bodies and the Imperial authorities, on account of the latter failing so often to

appreciate fully the nature of the political grievances that agitated the public mind, and on account of their constant interference in matters which should have been left exclusively to the control of the people directly interested, have been entirely removed in conformity with the wise policy of making Canada a self-governing country in the full sense of the phrase. These provinces are, as a consequence, no longer a source of irritation and danger to the parent state, but, possessing full independence in all matters of local concern, are now among the chief sources of England's pride and greatness.

2. The Governor-general, instead of being constantly brought into conflict with the political parties of the country, and made immediately responsible for the continuance of public grievances, has gained in dignity and influence since he has been removed from the arena of public controversy. He now occupies a position in harmony with the principles that have given additional strength and prestige to the Throne itself. As the legally accredited representative of the Sovereign, as the recognized head of society, he represents what Bagehot has aptly styled "the dignified part of our constitution," which has much value in a country like ours where we fortunately retain the permanent form of monarchy in harmony with the democratic machinery of our government.

It would be a great mistake to suppose that the Governor-general is a mere *roi fainéant*, a mere ornamental portion of our political system, to be set to

work and kept in motion by his council. Lord Elgin, the ablest of constitutional governors, has left it on record that in Jamaica, where there was no responsible government, he had not "half the power" he had in Canada, "with a constitutional and changing Cabinet."[1] This influence, however, was "wholly moral, an influence of suasion, sympathy, and moderation, which softens the temper while it elevates the aims of local politics." If the Governor-general is a man of parliamentary experience and constitutional knowledge, possessing tact and judgment, and imbued with the true spirit of his high vocation—and these high functionaries have been notably so since the commencement of Confederation—he can sensibly influence, in the way Lord Elgin points out, the course of administration and benefit the country at critical periods of its history. Standing above all party, having the unity of the empire at heart, a Governor-general can at times soothe the public mind, and give additional confidence to the country, when it is threatened with some national calamity, or there is distrust abroad as to the future. As an imperial officer he has large responsibilities of which the general public have naturally no very clear idea, and if it were possible to obtain access to the confidential and secret despatches which seldom see the light in the colonial office—certainly not in the lifetime of the men who wrote them—it would be seen how much for a quarter of a century past, the colonial department has gained by having had in the Dominion

1. Walrond's Letters of Lord Elgin, pp. 125, 126.

men, no longer acting under the influence of personal feeling through being made personally responsible for the conduct of public affairs, but actuated simply by a desire to benefit the country over which they preside, and to bring Canadian interests into union with those of the Empire itself.

3. The effects on the character of public men and on the body politic have been for the public advantage. It has brought out the best qualities of colonial statesmanship, lessened the influence of mere agitators and demagogues, and taught our public men to rely on themselves in all crises affecting the welfare and integrity of the country. Responsible government means self-reliance, the capacity to govern ourselves, the ability to build up a great Nation on the northern half of America.

The advantages of the Canadian or English system of parliamentary government compared with the United States system, may be briefly summed up as follows:

1. The Governor-general, his cabinet, and the two branches of the legislature are able to work in harmony with one another since the ministry is responsible to parliament for the advice it gives to the Crown, and must leave office should it forfeit the confidence of the majority of the popular house. The Governor-general at any time, acting always under the advice of his council, may grant a dissolution to test the sense of the people on a public question, and bring the legislative body immediately into accord with the public mind.

On the other hand, in the United States, the President and his cabinet may be in constant conflict with the two houses of Congress for the four years of his term of office. His cabinet has no direct influence with the legislative bodies, since they have no seats therein, and the political complexion of Congress does not affect their office since they depend on the executive for their continuance therein. Dissolution, which is the safety valve of the Canadian system, is not practicable under the United States constitution, which makes the President irremovable for a fixed term, and prevents the cabinet from sitting in Congress, and being responsible to the people.

2. The Governor-general is not personally brought into collision with either branch of the legislature by the exercise of a veto, since the ministry are responsible for all legislation, and must stand or fall by their own measures. The passage of a measure of which they disapproved would mean in the majority of cases their resignation; and it is impossible to suppose that they would ask the Governor to exercise a prerogative of the Crown which has been in disuse since the establishment of responsible government, and would not be a revolutionary measure even in Canada.

In the United States there is danger of constant collision between the President and the two legislative branches, should a very critical exercise of the veto, as in President Johnson's time, occur when the public mind would be deeply agitated. The chief magistrate loses in dignity and influence when the legislature

overrides his veto, and Congress becomes a despotic master for the time being.

3. The Canadian ministry having control of the finances and taxes, and of all matters of administration, are responsible directly to parliament, and sooner or later to the people, for the manner in which they have discharged their functions. All important measures affecting the public welfare are initiated by them, and on every question of public interest they are bound to have a definite policy if they expect to retain the confidence of the legislature. In case of all private legislation, they are also the guardians of the public interests, and responsible to Parliament and the people for any neglect in this important particular.

On the other hand, in the United States, the financial and other legislation of Congress is left to the control of committees, over which the President and his cabinet can have no direct influence, and the chairman of which may have ambitious objects in direct antagonism to the men in office. No one, for instance, can say that Mr. Blaine approves in all particulars of the famous Tariff Act of which Mr. Speaker Reed and Mr. Chairman McKinley are the fathers.

4. In the Canadian system the Speaker is a functionary, having certainly his party proclivities, but while in the chair all the political parties can depend on his justice and impartiality. Responsible government makes the premier responsible for the character of the committees, and for the legislation that may emanate from them. A government that would constantly endeavor

to shift their responsibilities on committees even of their own choosing would soon disappear from the treasury benches. Responsibility in legislation is ensured, tariff and financial measures are prevented from being the foot-balls of ambitious and irresponsible politicians, and the impartiality of a Speaker is guaranteed by the presence of a Cabinet having the direction of parliamentary business.

On the other hand, in the United States, the Speaker of the House of Representatives is forced to become in the very nature of things a political leader, and the spectacle is sometimes presented, so strange to us familiar with English methods, of decisions given by him with obviously party objects, and of committees formed by him with political aims, as likely as not with a view to thwart the ambition either of the President himself or of some prominent member of his cabinet. And all this lowering of the dignity of the chair is due to the absence of a responsible minister to lead the house. The very position which the Speaker is forced to take from time to time—in fact, from the beginning to the end of the last session—is clearly the result of the defects of the constitutional system of the United States, and a powerful evidence which goes to show that a responsible party leader is an absolute necessity in Congress. A legislature must be led, and Congress is attempting to get out of a crucial difficulty by all sorts of questionable shifts which only show the inherent weakness of the existing system.

The complete success in self-government in Canada can be seen by comparing the present condition of things with what existed fifty years ago when the provinces that now constitute the Dominion were so many small, struggling communities, isolated from one another, having no direct interest in each other's industrial and political development, animated by no common aims and aspirations, and having no tie to bind them except the purely sentimental bond which united them as communities of the same Empire. The total population of all the British North American countries in 1840 did not exceed one million of souls, of whom the majority were French Canadians, then sullen and discontented, believing that the Union was a part of a sinister scheme to destroy their national institutions and place them in a position of inferiority to the English speaking people.

That "war of races" of which Lord Durham speaks might have been continued in all its former intensity, had the new government been conducted in a spirit of hostility and injustice to the French Canadians. A feeling of unrest was still abroad, and no one was ready to speak confidently of the future. If there was ever in Canada any number of men inclined to favor annexation to the United States, they might have been found at that time when they compared the prosperity and enterprise of the neighboring republic, and its then larger measure of self-government with the condition of matters in the struggling communities of British North America. But, then as always, the great body of the

people were true to themselves and to British connection, and the same spirit of devotion that had carried them through the miseries of war and dangerous political agitation, gained strength when they saw that England at last recognized the errors of procrastination and negligence, which had too long been the features of colonial administration, and was ready to concede to the provinces those rights and privileges which they had every reason to expect as free, self-respecting communities animated by the spirit of English institutions. With a recognition of the right of Canada to self-government, came a sense of large responsibility. Canadians had to prove themselves worthy of the trust at last reposed in them, and they did so in a manner which has frequently in later times evoked the praise of the wisest English statesmen and publicists.

The quarter of a century that elapsed from 1842 to 1867, was the crucial period of Canadian political development, for then their principles of self-government were firmly established and a new industrious population flowed steadily into the country, the original population became more self-reliant and pursued their vocations with renewed energy, and confidence increased on all sides in our ability to hold our own against the competition of a wonderfully enterprising neighbor. Cities, towns and villages were built up with a rapidity not exceeded even on the other side of the border, and the ambition of our statesmen, even years before Confederation, began to see in the North West an opportunity for still greater expansion for the

energy and enterprise of the people. In those days Ontario became the noble province that she is by virtue of the capacity of her people for self-government, the energy of her industrial classes, and the fertility of her soil, and the moderation of her climate. The maritime industry of the lower provinces was developed most encouragingly, and Nova Scotia built up a commercial marine not equalled by that of any New England state. The French Canadian learned that he was treated in a spirit of justice, and instead of his influence diminishing under the regime of responsible government he had become a potent factor in political affairs. Montreal, founded more than two centuries before by Frenchmen, had by reason of its wonderfully favored position, and the energy of its merchants, become one of the great commercial cities of the continent. Toronto, fed by the enterprise and wealth of a noble agricultural country around and away beyond it, rapidly showed ambitious impulses, and became the capital of the west.

Then followed another radical change in the political position of the provinces. The political difficulties between the antagonistic elements in the parliament of old Canada certainly showed its statesmen that the Union of 1840 had done its work, but looking deeper into the cause of the movement that led to the federal union, we can see that the effect of responsible government had been to stimulate a higher class of statesmanship, and to prepare the public mind for a wider sphere of political action. The time had come for

placing the long isolated provinces on the broad basis which would give greater expansion to their energies and industries, and afford them that security for self-preservation on this continent which it was too evident was absolutely necessary in the presence of an aggressive and not always generous neighbor. The result of this broad statesmanship was the establishment of a Confederation possessing eventually a territory almost equal to that of the United States, and not inferior to them in those resources which form the substantial basis of a nation's greatness, and enjoying rights of self-government which, half a century ago, would have seemed a mere dream to those who were fighting to give Canada the control of her own local affairs, free from the interference of governors and officials in London.

This measure gave to Canada many of the attributes of a sovereign independent State. England now has only the right to disallow such Acts of the Canadian Parliament as may interfere with matters of exclusively Imperial jurisdiction. Canada cannot directly enter into and perfect treaties with foreign powers—that being an act of National sovereignty—but her rights to be consulted and represented in the negotiation of treaties immediately affecting her interests is now practically almost as much a part of our unwritten constitution as responsible government itself. The days of the weak diplomacy which lost Oregon and Maine to Canada have passed away. The public men of the United States must henceforth—as Mr. Blaine has

learned to his surprise—consider the Dominion as an all-important factor in all negotiations affecting her territorial or other interests. The Canadian Parliament cannot alter the written constitution known as the British North America Act of 1867 except by the authority of the Legislature which presides over the whole Empire; but the Legislature can only act on the motion of the Dominion Government itself, and the Provincial Legislatures have actually the power to amend their respective constitutions within certain limitations. The decisions of the Canadian courts are not final, as there is an appeal to the lords of the judicial committee of the Privy Council, the supreme court of the Empire, but even this reference is not general, since it is not allowed in criminal matters or in cases of mere abstract questions of law. The government of Canada is supreme in all other matters of purely Dominion import, including the appointment of Lieutenant-governors and the administration of territories out of which alone a great Empire could be formed. Nearly five millions of people now inhabit the old provinces of Canada alone, against the million of fifty years ago, and there is a cordon of cities, towns and villages, surrounded by wheat fields, stretching to the mountains of British Columbia, across those immense territories whose great capabilities for feeding the world were long steadily concealed by the studied policy of a gigantic corporation which valued the profits of the fur-trade more than the blessings of colonization, and which itself was a relic of the old times when Kings

parceled out vast regions with the same lavishness that they gave jewels to their mistresses. As a result of having full control of her own commerce, the trade of Canada which half a century ago was estimated at only twenty-five million dollars has now reached over two hundred and fifteen millions of dollars, in the aggregate, leaving out the calculation that valuable Intercolonial trade which does not appear in the returns. A large system of manufactures, which is one of the most satisfactory features of a self-sustaining, self-dependent community, has been gradually established to give additional employment to our people. Our difficulties are many, and are complicated at times by the conflict of provincial jealousies and rivalries, but these are the inevitable sequence of the government of a country, possessing diverse interests, and having a remarkable aptitude for political controversy.

If we compare our condition with that of the United States,—for we naturally turn to our great competitor for such comparisons—we will see that we have made almost larger strides in political development, in industry, and in all the essential elements of National progress, and have had even less difficulties to contend with than they had during the first quarter of a century after the adoption of their present federal constitution. For many years there were men who doubted the stability of the Union of the States, and had no faith in the development of the west. It was impossible, in their opinion, to connect the east and west, while there was an immense desert between the Pacific and the old settled

states. One speaker in the Senate, depreciating the value of beautiful Oregon, said that "for 700 miles this side of the Rocky Mountains is uninhabitable," and "the mountains totally impassable."[1] He ridiculed the idea of a railway through such a territory, "for which he would not give a pinch of snuff." Yet in this country, once described as the desert, there are now the states of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and Dakota. The "Impassable" Rocky Mountains have been crossed by great lines of railway, and the east and west united by continuous communities of energetic people.

We are only repeating in Canada under more favorable circumstances the history of our neighbours. The rocky country to the north of Lake Superior is no more a barrier to Canadian continuity of development than the once fabulous Sahara of the United States, but will by its mineral wealth add largely to the prosperity of the Dominion. The great nickel deposits of the Sudbury district, are in themselves the source of wealth, —worth many tens of thousands of acres of the richest prairie land.

The evidences of National Unity—of confidence in a Canadian federation from the Atlantic to the Pacific —are more encouraging than any afforded by the United States at any time in her history from 1787 to 1865, when the civil war closed, slavery and secession received a deathblow, and the cause of National Unity triumphed.

1. See Barrows, "Oregon" (American Commonwealth Series) pp. 194–196.

The people of French Canada and of all the provinces have gained steadily by the adoption of the federal constitution, and I believe under no other system would it be possible to give due scope to the aims and aspirations of the respective nationalities and interests that compose the Dominion. It is a system which, having at its base respect for local and provincial rights, creates at the same time a spirit of common and national interest which binds diverse and otherwise isolated communities together in a Union necessary to give them strength against the attacks of foes within and foes without.

In countries peopled and governed like Canada, all history tells us, there are three great dangers always to be avoided. First of all, that Sectionalism which is narrow and selfish in its aspirations and is ever underrating the vital importance of National and Dominion aims; secondly, that Sectarianism which represents the bigotry of old ages of religious feuds, and would judge all other faiths by its own canons and beliefs; thirdly, that Nationalism, which Papineau represented—which wise French Canadians in later times have repudiated, and which may be as dangerous in the English West as in the French East should it ever again come to mean a "War of Races," Anglo-Canadian against French Canada.

As long as the respective members of the Federation observe faithfully the principles on which it necessarily rests—perfect equality among all its sections, a due consideration for local rights, a deep National

sentiment whenever the interests of the whole federation are at stake—the people of this Dominion need not fear failure in their efforts to accomplish the great work in which they have been so long engaged.

Full of that confidence that the history of the past should give them, and of that energy and courage which are their natural heritage, and which have already achieved the most satisfactory results in the face of difficulties which, fifty years ago, would have seemed almost insurmountable; stimulated by their close neighborhood to a nation with whom they have always shown a desire to cultivate such relations as are compatible with their dignity, their security, and their self-interest as a separate and distinct community; adhering closely to those principles of government which are best calculated to give them moral as well as political strength, Canadians may tranquilly, patiently, and determinately face the problem which the Destiny that "shapest the ends" of communities, "rough hew them how we will" must eventually solve for a Dominion, with such great possibilities before it, if we are but true to ourselves, and are not dismayed by the ill-timed utterances of gloomy thinkers.

Be that destiny what it may—and who can doubt that the practical local independence we Canadians have already attained must bring with it, as a natural political evolution, still greater responsibilities and claims which cannot be resisted,—I am sure that I only voice the heartfelt hope of all true Canadians that it will be found practicable, in the future as in the past, to har-

monize the natural aspirations of a people, full of consciousness of manhood and its obligations with the interests of the parent State to whom Canada owes so much.

But a few words in conclusion. When we review the trials and struggles of the past that we may gain from them lessons of confidence for the future, let us not forget to pay a tribute to the men who have laid the foundations of these communities, still on the threshold of their development, and on whom the great burden fell. To the French Canadians who, despite the neglect and indifference of their kings, amid toil and privation, amid war and famine, built up a province which they have made their own by their patience and industry, and who should, differ as we may from them, evoke our respect for their fidelity to the institutions of their origin, for their appreciation of the advantages of English self-government, and for their co-operation in all great measures essential to the Unity of the federation. To the Loyalists of last century who left their homes for the sake of "king and country," and laid the foundations of prosperous and loyal English communities by the sea and by the great lakes, and whose descendants have ever stood true to the principles of the institutions which have made Britain free and great. To the unknown body of Pioneers some of whose names perhaps still linger on a headland or river or on a neglected gravestone, who let in the sunlight year by year to the dense forests of these countries, and built up by their industry the large and

thriving provinces of this dominion. Above all, to the men who laid deep and firm, beneath the political structure of this Confederation, those principles of Self-Government which give harmony to our constitutional system and bring out the best qualities of an intelligent people.

In the early times in which they struggled they had to bear much obloquy, and their errors of judgment have been often severely arraigned at the bar of public opinion; many of them lived long enough to see how soon men may pass into oblivion; but we who enjoy the benefit of their earnest endeavors, now that the voice of the party passion of their times is hushed, should never forget that though they are not here to reap the fruit of their labors, their work survives in the energetic and hopeful communities that stretch from Cape Breton to Victoria.

To all these workers of the past, no more noble tribute was ever paid than these verses by Joseph Howe:

"Not here? Oh! yes, our hearts their presence feel;
Viewless, not voiceless, from the deepest shells
On memory's shore harmonious echoes steal,
And names, which, in the days gone by, were spells,
Are blent with that soft music. If there dwells
The spirit here our Country's fame to spread,
While every breast with joy and triumph swells,
And earth reverberates to our measured tread,
Banner and wreath will own our reverence for the dead.
"The Roman gather'd in a stately urn
The dust he honor'd—while the sacred fire,
Nourish'd by vestal hands, was made to burn

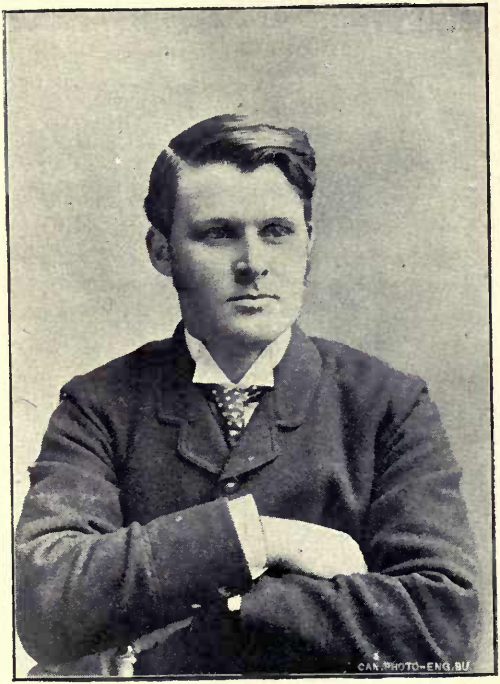
From age to age. If fitly you'd aspire,
Honor the dead; and let the sounding lyre
Recount their virtues in your festal hours;
Gather their ashes—higher still, and higher
Nourish the patriot flame that history dowers,
And o'er the old men's graves, go strew your choicest flowers."

JNO. GEO. BOURINOT.

The Commercial Marine of Canada.

Speech delivered by the Hon. C. H. Tupper, Minister of Marine, at the dinner to Mr. Plimsoll given by the National Club.

THE Minister of Marine and Fisheries said: Gentlemen, I thank you exceedingly for the manner in which you have received the toast of "Her Majesty's Ministers," spoken to so kindly by the worthy Vice-president. I wish I could adequately express my appreciation of the manner in which he, as the vice-president of a non-political Club, has alluded to the important fact that to-day is the natal day of a man who, no matter what his political proclivities may be, has served Canada to the best of his ability for an exceedingly long period in the lives of statesmen. I am sure that I am not stepping outside of the bounds of propriety when I say I believe your vice-president, or any man belonging to any party in Canada, would be warranted in congratulating the people of this country upon the fact that Sir John Macdonald is still serving us, that we have the benefit of his opinion in the political arena, and particularly during the present important period in the history of Canada. On Sir John Macdonald's behalf, therefore, I must thank you for the manner in



HON. C. H. TUPPER.

which you have received the reference to his natal day.

I quite understand and thoroughly agree in the principle that this toast, which has been proposed and so enthusiastically received, commits no man to the particular principles that the present Ministers of Her Majesty in the Dominion of Canada profess. It is a toast which is an appropriate honor when proposed in a Club that is recognized in Canada as being not only an important institution, but a thoroughly non-political institution; a Club which can do, and I believe has done, much in forming the public opinion of this country, and I thank you again for the manner in which you have received this toast.

It has given me particular pleasure to come here to-night to join with you in the cordial welcome that, on behalf of the people and the business men of this important centre of Canadian commerce, you have deemed right to extend toward the man who is known throughout the British empire as the "friend of poor Jack." Whether agreeing with him or whether considering that we cannot go all the length that he desires us to go in reforms for the betterment—for the improvement—of the shipping interests and the safety of the British seaman, we must recognize the fact certainly that this country has already accomplished an extraordinary amount of good for the British sailor, and means to secure even greater benefits for him than already has been done. It is thoroughly characteristic of this great city of Toronto, this welcome

that you have extended to Mr. Plimsoll, and as I for the time represent the Marine interests of Canada—represent them politically in the government of our country—I must say that it gives me great pleasure to join with you in this welcome. I may tell Mr. Plimsoll that, although we may, as I said before, have opinions different from his in reference to the manner in which the reforms that he desires to see made should be worked out, we all have, whether living in Toronto or in any other part of Canada, been always ready to meet in the most friendly manner and to discuss in the fairest way these questions which so vitally concern, not only the sailors, but this entire country, which has such vast marine interests at stake.

We can enter into such a discussion with Mr. Plimsoll, or with any other persons who have the marine interests at heart, with a bold and confident front. Mr. Plimsoll comes before us an advocate for the improvement of the sailors' condition in England with a good record, and to him we can say—we can boast of the fact—that though one of the colonies of the British empire, and not so large in population in comparison with other nations in the world, we have not lagged far behind the mother country in regard to the reforms that have been worked out in the interests of the sailor. Situated as we are in keen rivalry with a great country lying just beside us, a country possessed of an enormous population and vast resources, we are able to say, and I hope without offending our neighbors, that we have beaten them in the race for reform,

that we Canadians have to-day upon our statute book reforms which the Congress of the United States has not yet been able to adopt.

We can go further—if Mr. Plimsoll will allow me; I am sure he will have no jealous feeling in that regard, for his heart is big enough for the Empire, and his sympathies are not entirely confined to the tight little islands across the sea—and say that we have beaten the mother country with reference to reforms for the safety of seamen. While Mr. Plimsoll was fighting the battle for poor Jack in Great Britain; while he was endeavoring to see that no vessel should leave a British port improperly loaded, overloaded or underloaded, we in this country had dealt with the question in a more drastic, more definite and more satisfactory manner, I will venture to say, and had provided by legislation that not only should what he was fighting for in Great Britain be the case here, but that an officer of the Government should see that no vessel should proceed to sea from a Canadian port improperly loaded, overloaded or underloaded.

While it was left in the mother country to the owners to see that due provision, was, as I have mentioned, made, while there the owners were permitted to state to what extent the vessels should be loaded, in Canada that discretion was not given to the owners of the shipping, but it was put in the hands of an impartial officer of the Government. So you will see that not only were we ready to follow the example of the mother country, an example, as we thought, healthy and proper

for us to follow, but we went further, and not merely placed the sentiment upon our statute book, but we took care in this country to enforce the sentiment in the most practical manner possible. When I say this I in no sense desire to make a vain boast.

I say that we have reason in Canada to congratulate ourselves upon this further fact. While the shipping interests of some other countries have been retarded, owing to the fact that reasonable reforms and reasonable restrictions placed upon the ships have created an outcry on the score of their good service, the shipping interests of this country, taken all round, have had the hearty co-operation of the owners of ships registered in Canada. We know that in Canada, as in the Mother country, the United States, and in fact in all shipping countries, there are some bad and unprincipled men who have placed their means in shipping interests, but we may congratulate ourselves that we have no reason to be ashamed in the comparison of the capitalists of our country, who have invested their means in that direction, with their fellow competitors in the mother country or in any other country in the world. There is here a healthy and reasonable spirit which pervades the men who in Canada have seen fit to put their money in shipping; and in this regard we can claim and show that when any reasonable scheme has been propounded after careful investigation there has not been found a man so reckless of the power of public opinion or the sentiment of the country as to block or to oppose those reforms.

We are glad that Mr. Plimsoll who has taken so lively and so intelligent an interest in this important question, so directly affecting the marine of the British empire, has seen fit to come to Canada in person, and not to act merely upon theoretical views and ideas which he has conceived away and apart from us. We cordially greet him when he comes here as he should come, and as any man in his position ought, to ascertain exactly how the facts are in this country, and what the position of affairs really is.

We take it that in Canada we can think and speak for our own country in this regard, and we think that it is not necessary to cripple by a sudden blow an interest—this great interest in the exportation of cattle—that has grown in such extraordinary proportions in the last few years. We take it in this country that an interest which has been developed—for a time gradually, but in after years by such wonderful advances—can still be conserved, can still be fostered, and yet that the real wishes, and the real motives of reformers like Mr. Plimsoll can be worked out. We believe that a calm, careful review of the facts will show and will lead to the conclusion that the time has come when this great industry in Canada must not be left merely to those who are directly and pecuniarily interested in it, but that by wise supervision all or mostly all of the irregularities which are complained of can be relieved, and yet that no party or no man concerned be very heavily or unduly affected. Therefore, gentlemen, I say that the Government of this country, acting, I am

sure, with the approval of all political parties, has gone to the bottom of the question, and has, through the means of a Departmental Commission, proceeded to ascertain the opinions of all people in the country who care to give their opinions upon the question.

We know, and I need only to refer to the fact to remind you of it, that gross cruelties were perpetrated in British ships, whether at home or in the colonies, aforetime towards the men that manned them. Gross cruelties and offences were done against the sailor, and for a time it seemed that he had no friend. Acts leading oftimes to murder were committed; cruelties of the most atrocious character were perpetrated day in and day out, and not until the spirit arose that Mr. Plimsoll represents—and I say that advisedly—were those cruelties prevented. But, it was not necessary to altogether stop navigation. It was not necessary to absolutely prohibit the shipping of seamen in order to secure their fair and reasonable treatment. No. Reforms were necessary, and they were provided for by wise laws and the healthy supervision of them, so that now it is thoroughly safe for a freeman born in the British empire to ship and sign articles on any British ship, and woe be to the captain who allows cruelties to be perpetrated or inhuman acts to be committed upon that man. In such wise, too, is the feeling in Canada at the present time, that with intelligence and by careful attention we can grapple with this question, which directly concerns the shipment of cattle. We can see that proper means are provided; that proper

steps are taken to work out the necessary reforms, and yet at the same time preserve to this country a great industry which promises to grow to an extent that the mind of man can now hardly conceive. All this I repeat, gentlemen, can so be done that the tenderest feelings of the philanthropists, who are around us everywhere within the borders of this Empire, may not be rudely shocked.

I believe Mr. Plimsoll himself will say that in this important question we are proceeding properly, and I am here ready to admit that the movement which is behind him in Great Britain is one which is entitled to an enormous amount of credit because it has brought the attention of the authorities of this country, as well as the attention of the imperial authorities, to some reforms that at any rate are desirable, and are required at once. I believe that the people of this country are ready not only to aid but to meet that movement in the proper spirit.

Kind references have been made to the responsible position which I for the time occupy in the councils of the nation, and I must take advantage of the present opportunity to tell our friend, Mr. Plimsoll, some things with which he may be thoroughly familiar but which it gives pleasure to a Canadian often to repeat. I refer to the importance—the growing importance—of the Commercial Marine of this country.

We in Canada have a tolerably good opinion of ourselves. We think that will be admitted even in the United States of America. Well, I think that we can

say that they are guilty of the same thing. However, there is a hot rivalry all the time between the two countries. They have advantages which we have not, but we think we have in many of our resources the advantage over them. However that may be, I think that the rivalry, taking it all round, despite the McKinley bill or any other bill, is a healthy one, and we are thriving in the commercial fight that has been waged ever since the few colonies on the North American continent ventured to say that they could live, prosper and be happy and still stick by the old flag that has now waved over us so long.

In the province from which I come, Nova Scotia, there is a large shipping interest, an interest that has been affected, no doubt, as all the wooden shipping of the world has also been affected, by the marvellous growth of the steel and iron shipping interests of the mother country. Notwithstanding this enormous competition, notwithstanding the great wealth of Great Britain, any one who knows Canada will admit that the shipping interest of this country is one of the most important that belongs to it. You are concerned here more with what is known as the Inland marine, and that interest is very great, as I will venture to point out a little later on. But if you will allow me now, I will tell you in brief language, and with the confidence in his country that fills the breast of a man as young as myself, something in regard to the future development of the Marine interests of Canada.

We have been working for some time, and I am of

that school who believe that we have worked successfully, to forward the growth and power of British North America. I believe, gentlemen, that I do not trespass upon the bounds of good taste when I say confidently that we have grappled with great questions in Canada since 1867, and that we have grappled with them successfully. We have given great attention to the development of a railway system. If we desired to work out a future—an independent and prosperous future—for Canada, it was absolutely necessary that Canadians should have had the pluck, enterprise, and self-confidence that have been displayed. And it does seem gratifying that now all nations and all countries commend us and approve of the ventures that we have undertaken and of the results that have been attained.

Great as have been our ventures in connection with the welding together of the provinces by a railway system, I believe that the completion of that development will be the deepening and widening of the Water ways between the different provinces of this country, and that in the continued extension of that magnificent system still greater results and triumphs are to be achieved and enjoyed by our people.[1] I believe that

1. In 1871 the Canadian government determined to increase the canal communication to be available for 12 feet draught instead of 9 feet as previously. In 1875 this was increased to 14 feet with locks of length 275 feet, breadth 45 feet, and draught 14 feet. In 1887 the Welland system was completed and in 1893 the remaining locks of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to Kingston will be finished, giving continuous navigation to vessels of 1,500 tons from the sea to Lake Superior, 602 feet above sea level.

Nova Scotians, like myself, will not always (when that development has been accomplished) be the singular characters that for the moment we may appear. It would seem that the spirit and energy of the people of Canada has not to any extent or degree been reduced by the efforts which have been made in the one direction, and I believe that public opinion, which justified the Government of that day in that effort in extending our Railways, will justify the Government of the future day, whatever Government it may be, in imposing further undertakings for our Water ways.

The great problem before us now is the development of the idea that the great ships of the ocean shall yet be seen in this magnificent harbor upon which your city of Toronto lies. Why should we not see it? It is no dream. You know probably that steps are being taken in regard to it, and I believe that the pledges of public men in responsible positions are being given to that end. We have no more right and no more reason to discredit that movement or show a lack of confidence in it than was shown in regard to the other great and important problems with which this country has successfully grappled. Just think of what that development would be. The development of the commercial marine of the great lakes has already been stupendous. Part of the benefits of it have been denied to you, not through any fault of your own. But, with the great expansion of civilization, with the growth of population in the neighboring country, what have we seen in regard to the commercial marine of the

great lakes? When I tell you that in the Detroit River in the last season of navigation—or I will take, for instance, the year 1889—out of the 234 days of navigation more traffic, as shown by the tonnage of vessels, passed through that river than went from or to the great ports of Liverpool and London in the mother country. Not less than 36,000,000 tons of shipping passed through that river in the 234 days of navigation; more by several millions of tons than passed through the Suez canal during all the year of navigation, and more, as I have said, by several millions of tons than the tonnage of the shipping which entered at the great ports of Liverpool and London.

With facts like these before us, the mind of man can hardly conceive the results which will accrue if we should (while we are denied the advantages of the coasting laws in connection with the United States' interests on those lakes) have an extension of the advantages of our own coasting, if we were to create a continuous line in our own territory all the way from the shores of the Atlantic up the great inland lakes and back again.[1] To show you what they may be, I will mention that from 1873 to 1889 there was an increase of from some 650 vessels engaged in the

1. The salt water coast line of Canada from the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick to Montreal is 2,100 miles, and the fresh water coast from Kingston to Port Arthur 1,600 miles, with a fresh water Lake area of 96,877 square miles. The joining of these two by the completion of the St. Lawrence canals will give a continuous Canadian coast line open to Canadian tonnage of 4,040 miles.

coasting trade up to 1,300 in the vessels registered in the Inland province of Ontario, and you know better than I do that to this development there must be added an enormous amount of tonnage represented by the ships sailing on the Lakes but registered at Montreal and Quebec.

We Canadians in every province have been alive to the great importance of the Commercial Marine of this country. To-day the statistical authorities of the registered ships of the world show what I think Canadians must feel proud of. It is true that other nations may be older and more populous than this country, but when it comes down to the enjoyment of prosperity and to the facts connected with Commercial Marine interests, excluding the mother country, Canada to-day stands fourth on the list.

There are only three countries, including the mother country, which are ahead of this comparatively small people in connection with the registered tonnage, as the statistical authorities show. We follow close upon Germany and close upon the United States so far as registered tonnage in the statistical tables is concerned. The tonnage put down there for the United States is only twice that of Canada, while their population is as 65,000,000 to 5,000,000. For some years, as you are aware, we have had a standing offer of reciprocal coasting advantages open to the United States, and for the matter of that, open to the world, but the United States has not yet felt able, though possessed of an enormous population and enormous resources, to meet

us in fair field and no favor in regard to the Commercial Marine. I hope, however, for better times in that regard, and I know that when the day comes and we are admitted to a share of that coasting trade that we have done so much to foster, and which the United States so largely enjoy now on liberal terms through the canals they use, but which we have constructed,[1] there will be a better condition of affairs between us. But now we have no other alternative than the healthy one of carrying forward our development with confidence in ourselves and a firm belief in our great opportunities.

What must be the feelings of a stranger striking the Straits of Belle Isle when he finds that he can travel over 2,000 miles inland upon Canadian waters until he strikes the heart of the finest country in the world, and that all this is within Canadian territory! What we have to do is to bend our energies so that not only may we say that a vessel can reach the heart of this continent through Canadian waters, but that a vessel of almost any draught, or at least of ocean-going draught, can do so. We should recognize the duty that now rests upon us, and we should so discharge that duty as to satisfy everyone who will have to bear a share in the burden of its accomplishment.

As a young country we are ambitious. I have referred to the railway system and the satisfactory re-

1. Canada has expended some $55,000,000 in the construction of her canals which are open under the Washington Treaty to United States tonnage upon the same terms as to Canadians.

sults which followed upon its accomplishment. I have mentioned once or twice the development of the great waterways—the deepening and widening of the water communications. We have spent millions already upon that work, and every dollar—every particle of that expenditure—has been, I am glad to believe, in the opinion of both political parties, made for the best interests of our country.

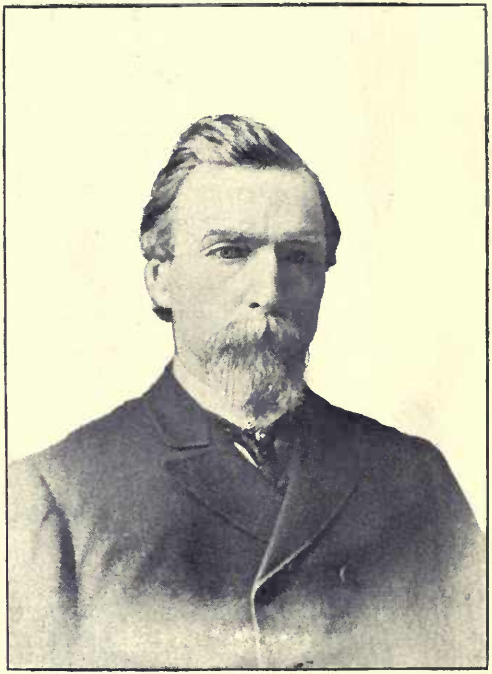
Let me tell you another thing to which as Canadians we can point with some pride. While many countries in the world are older, richer and more populous than ours, yet these countries, even the mother country, the liberal mother country, have seen fit to continue to impose a tax upon shipping for those silent aids to navigation, the lighthouses, while we in Canada have given these lights freely to the world. We have freely pointed the way up our shores and past our coasts to every flag and country, without charging one single sixpence to any vessel.

But we have proceeded even further than that. According to the records of the lighthouse board of the United States in 1889, it was estimated that the number of lights in the world was 6,000. If that estimate be correct I am able to tell you that Canada, without charging a dollar—while making her lights free to all the ships of the world—supports no less than one-sixth of the entire number of the lights of the world to-day. In addition to that, you know what a vast aid the buoys and beacons of the channels and shoals are to navigation, and this our country affords

freely to all ships. This I should have mentioned before when speaking of our offer of free coasting privileges to any nation that would reciprocally grant us free coasting privileges. From that step we have never receded, and thus we show that we have confidence in ourselves, confidence in our resources and confidence in our hardy mariners; and we believe that this confidence is well placed.

I may say, as additional evidence of the enterprise of the people of Canada upon the Atlantic coast that down in the little province where I come from—Nova Scotia—they have shown what Canadian pluck will do in connection with the sealing industry on the much talked of Behring sea. Allusion has been made to it to-night, and I would point out that nearly all those so-called Canadian poachers who have given Uncle Sam so much anxiety were built in Nova Scotia, manned in Nova Scotia and sailed from Nova Scotia all the way round Cape Horn to Behring sea. I should hope that Mr. Plimsoll will not undertake to lead a foray against the capture of those seals. Even if it is cruel to kill them, I think we must require that the mother country shall back us up in our fair and legitimate opportunity for their capture. We may give way a little upon the cattle, but, as Canadians who are interested in the sealing industry, I hope he (Mr. Plimsoll) will allow us to do a little murder on that score. Now, then, I fear that I have trespassed considerably upon your time, but I felt that this was an occasion upon which it would not be in bad taste to put our

best efforts forward; and, knowing the interest that Mr. Plimsoll takes in these questions, and knowing that he is a true hearted Briton and would be glad to hear good news of the colonies of the grand old empire, I believed it would give him as much pleasure to hear, as it has given me to tell, of the efforts that Canada has made in the direction of fostering her Commercial Marine. (Mr. Plimsoll, "Hear, hear"). I thank you again exceedingly for the toast and for the kind manner in which you have listened to me.



HON. JAMES YOUNG.

Canadian Nationality.

A GLANCE AT THE PRESENT AND FUTURE.

Read before the National Club, Toronto, by Hon. James Young, late Treasurer of the Province of Ontario.

PATRIOTISM is one of the noblest of human impulses. It was described by the brilliant Bolingbroke as something founded on great principles which must be supported by great virtues. I don't know that my fellow Canadians are deficient in this noble quality. I would be sorry to think that that love of country which produced "The Patriot Tell, the Bruce of Bannockburn," did not burn in their breasts, and that some great national emergency would not kindle it into flame. But in this advanced and somewhat vainglorious age, when we hear so much of other countries—not simply those grand old Empires of the past whose "ruined palaces and piles stupendous" are silently crumbling away; not simply the great nations of Europe with their immense commerce, gigantic armies and prodigious wealth; but of those younger and rawer countries which have their history to make, I deem it not unfitting to take as the theme of a few remarks, our own land, or "Canadian Nationality: a glance at the present and future."

This is a familiar theme, and I may say at the outset that I hardly hope to be able to advance anything very new or startling. Nor do I propose to discuss the Commercial condition of the country. The

Dominion is admittedly passing through a period of depression, both Financial and Commercial, at the present time, but as this has become more or less an active party question, this is neither the time nor place to discuss it.

Since Confederation we have had our party battles and political grievances. We have had Conservative and Reform governments. We have had years of Commercial expansion and prosperity, and years of contraction and depression. But however real our political grievances and however depressed business may occasionally have been, it is impossible to glance over our territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific without realizing that Canada has nevertheless steadily developed and strengthened since Confederation took place—not so fast, possibly, as many of us expected, but yet sufficiently fast to warrant us in looking with hopefulness and confidence to the future.

In looking at the Dominion from this point of view, I account myself fortunate, as well as honored, in being invited to address your National Club. I am informed that your membership comprises gentlemen of very varying shades of political opinions, but all more or less attached to the grand idea of Canadian Nationality, and that, to use a common phrase, Canada is on this continent to stay. I am also glad to be informed, and I may need your indulgence in this respect before I close, that it may be said of your Club as Tennyson said of England—

> "A land where girt by friends or foes,
> A man may say the thing he will."

Stretch a line across North America from ocean to ocean, dipping as low as the 42nd parallel on the Atlantic side, and rising to the 49th on the Pacific slope, and you will have nearly divided the continent in halves. Above that line you have over 3,519,000 square miles of territory. This immense area is 500,000 square miles larger than the whole United States without Alaska, and only 84,000 less with that ice-bound region added. It is forty times as large as Great Britain—indeed, to use the words of a boastful Canadian, we might dump the Mother Country into Lake Superior without seriously impeding navigation. It is a territory only 237,000 square miles less than the whole Continent of Europe which nature has bequeathed us to redeem from the wilderness state, and carve and fashion as our mental and physical energies dictate. In point of size, then, the Dominion is large enough to become the seat of several large nations, exceeded in territory only by Russia and the United States, and consequently the third largest country in the world.

Among other writers, Mr. Wiman of New York, a few months ago pronounced, through the North American Review, a glowing eulogy upon our natural resources. He spoke of our Climate, our inland Seas, our Forests, our Wheat fields, our Fisheries, and our Mineral wealth, in terms calculated to make every Canadian proud of his country. But it is well to beware of too many superlatives, and it must be admitted that, from a territorial point of view, the Dominion has some serious drawbacks, as well as great advantages.

1. Its configuration is not desirable, being something like the proverbial Irishman's blanket, too long at the top and too short at the bottom.

2. Many parts of it are mountains, rocky and sterile.

3. Much of it is situated too near the North Pole to yield sufficient crops to induce settlement.

On these various grounds we ought probably to deduct one-half from the total area of the Dominion. But after making this liberal reduction, we have still left 1,750,000 square miles of territory. This is larger than thirty-six of the principal States of the neighboring Republic, and larger than Britain, Germany, France, Austria, Italy, Spain, Norway and Sweden, Belgium, Denmark, Switzerland and Turkey in Europe, combined. It is not too much to describe this as a grand National heritage, blessed with a healthful and invigorating climate, and possessed of as rich, varied and inexhaustible natural resources, with possibly one exception, as any other country on the face of the globe. That this is not too rose-colored a view, I might quote many distinguished foreign witnesses. Let us just take one—the testimony of an eminent man, one who probably did more as the founder of the Republican party to strike the shackles from American slaves than any of his countrymen. I refer to William H. Seward. When Secretary in President Lincoln's administration, Mr. Seward said:

"Hitherto in common with most of my countrymen, I suppose, I have thought Canada, or to speak more accurately British America, a mere strip lying

north of the United States, easily detached from the parent State, but incapable of sustaining itself, and therefore ultimately, nay right soon, to be taken on by the Federal Union, without materially changing or affecting its own development. I have dropped this opinion as a national conceit. I see in British America stretching as it does across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and occupying a belt of the Temperate Zone, a region grand enough for the seat of a great Empire—in its Wheat fields in the west, its invaluable Fisheries and its Mineral wealth. I find its inhabitants vigorous, hardy, energetic and perfected by British Constitutional liberty. Southern Political Stars must set, though many times they rise again with diminished beauty, but those which illumine the Pole remain for ever shining, for ever increasing in splendor."

This is a graceful compliment to come from an American statesman, and it should ever be remembered that our immense territory, although reaching north to the Pole, to which that kilted Scotchman is popularly supposed to be clinging, extends nearly as far south as the City of Rome in Europe, and lies within the Zones which embrace all the great nations of that continent.

These are facts, gentlemen, which I fear some of our fellow countrymen have never yet fully realized, and if any who have not be before me to-night, I call upon them to revise their estimate of their country, and to rise to the realization of the fact, that they

may give a loose rein to the imagination and yet not exhaust the possibilities of empire to this great Dominion before another century closes.

Let us now in the second place consider for a little the progress which the Dominion has made in development. It is nearly 350 years since Jacques Cartier erected the cross—the symbol of Christianity—at Gaspé, and amidst the triumphal cheers of his hardy mariners, flung to the breeze the Fleur-de-lis of old France. But it is barely one hundred years since the actual settlement of Western Canada began, and to-day the population of the Dominion may be estimated at 5,175,000, which is about one-half more than the inhabitants of the United States when, through the wrong-headedness and obstinacy of George III., they asserted and achieved their independence.

The Dominion is essentially an agricultural country, and the total value of all its farms, farm buildings, live stock and implements must now be exceedingly large. All the provinces have not yet statistical bureaus —which is much to be regretted—and so we cannot get complete returns on this interesting point. But some idea may be obtained from the fact that the value thereof in Ontario alone, as computed by our well-managed statistical bureau, is not less than $981,-368,094.

Our exports of agricultural products have reached the value of $51,000,000 in a single year, and Mr. Geo. Johnson, the able and obliging head of the statistical bureau at Ottawa, has furnished me with a

calculation in which he estimates the value of the total production of Dominion farms at about $500,000,000 per annum. Other calculations are somewhat less than this, but considering that our older provinces are but partly developed, and our immense and luxuriant Northwest prairies scarcely developed at all, any of the calculations indicate how immense are our agricultural resources, and how largely production may yet be expected to increase.

I need not dwell at length on this occasion, however important, on our gold, silver, copper, iron, coal, and I must now add, our nickel mines. These are dotted all over the continent, commencing on the sea-washed shores of Cape Breton, along the picturesque banks of the St. Lawrence, around the ragged and jagged cliffs of Lake Superior, cropping out on the lovely Saskatchewan, and away towards the setting sun, over the Rocky and Cascade Mountains to Columbia and Vancouver Island.

Taking our nickel mines and ore ranges in the Sudbury District alone, recent estimates of their wealth almost recall the story of Aladdin and other fabulous legends of our youth. If we accept the reports of the United States Naval experts recently sent from Washington to the Sudbury District, there are no less than 650,000,000 tons of nickel ore in sight, and an ingenious calculation has been made on this basis that, taking copper at 15 cents per lb. and nickel at 50 cents, and allowing 4 per cent. for the copper and 3 per cent. for the nickel in the ore, the former would amount to

$7,800,000,000 and the latter no less than $19,500,000,000. These enormous figures make the brain grow a little dizzy, and I fear there must be something wrong with the basis. They are only of importance as testimony to our great mineral wealth in nickel and copper if it could only be freely developed and utilized.

The reports of the Ontario Mining Commission and of the Dominion Geological Survey go to show that our mines generally are richer and more numerous than is commonly supposed, and I may point out that two of them, coal and iron, and I should also now add nickel, are the essential factors of manufacturing greatness, to which I hope to see Canada attain, for it is those nations which combine agricultural and manufacturing industries which have made, and must continue to make, the broadest and deepest mark on the world's history.

There are three of our national resources which deserve particular attention, because in these we may be said to excel all other countries—I refer to our forests, our fisheries and our shipping. The former are unrivalled in extent and value. Besides supplying our own large home demand we have exported timber and lumber to the extent of $28,500,000 in a single year. About two years ago the Crown Lands Department of Ontario laid before the Legislature a calculation setting forth that there were still uncut on unlicensed and licensed timber limits of the province the immense amount of 60,540,000,000 feet, the mere Government fees on which were estimated to be worth

$136,000,000. When it is remembered that the timber limits of Quebec probably equal those of Ontario, and that New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Columbia all possess similar resources, some idea may be had of the vastness and value of our Canadian forests, the conservation of which has become one of the most important questions which can engage the attention of our legislators.

The last year for which we have returns (1889) the value of the registered shipping of Canada was nearly $32,000,000, and there were upwards of 68,000 hardy seamen engaged in our fisheries, not counting the men, women and children employed on shore. The products of the fisheries exported and sold amounted to $17,655,000, besides an estimated home consumption of $13,000,000. The British Columbia fisheries are rapidly increasing. The latest returns at hand show they had 28 canneries in operation in 1889, which packed over 20,000,000 1 lb. tins of salmon. Besides this, their sealing vessels captured 33,570 seals, valued at $349,825.

The catch of seals is reported to have been still larger last summer, which proves how deeply Canada is interested in opposing the extraordinary contention that Behring Sea—which is hundreds of miles wide—can in any sense be held to be a Mare Clausum. It is not likely such a new doctrine in International law can be maintained, but whilst courteously agreeing to any reasonable proposition of the United States for the preservation of the seals, it is most essential to the

Dominion, and especially to British Columbia, that the just rights of our hardy seamen in those waters should be firmly maintained by Great Britain in the negotiations still pending at Washington.

I know few things of which we have more cause for congratulation than our Merchant Marine. For a Colony it is almost unexampled. Our fellow countrymen in the Maritime Provinces own more shipping per capita, Great Britain not excepted, than any other people, and the sturdy blue-nose city of St. John, which looks out so defiantly towards the stormy shores of the Bay of Fundy, possesses and navigates more sea-going vessels than Boston, Philadelphia or Baltimore. To her honor, be it said, she stands eighth as regards shipping among all the great cities of the British Empire, being surpassed but comparatively little by any except Liverpool, London and Glasgow.

The Dominion takes a highly creditable position among marine powers in regard to registered sea-going tonnage. The statistical year-book of Canada places the principal countries as follows :

	Tons.
Great Britain	7,123,754
Sweden and Norway	2,024,471
Germany	1,240,182
Canada	1,089,642
United States	1,021,595

Counting in vessels engaged in the river and home trade the United States would be entitled to the second place, having 4,307,000 tons. But taking registered sea-going shipping alone, Canada stands before the

United States, Italy, France, the Netherlands, Austria, Turkey and Spain—in short, has now the fourth, and will in all probability soon have the third largest ocean marine which breasts the billows of the deep.

Our total shipping, taking both inland and sea-going, steadily increasing, year by year, but of the sea-borne trade of the Dominion in 1889, 48.75 per cent. was carried in British bottoms, 31.01 per cent. in foreign, and 26.24 per cent. in Canadian. These figures carry a lesson with them. In 1856 United States vessels carried 75.02 per cent. of all the imports and exports of the Republic, and although their foreign trade had in the meantime more than doubled, in 1888 they only carried 13.48 per cent. The rocks upon which the American Mercantile Marine was wrecked are now pretty clear to view, and the fact that in 1889 for the first time in many years more Canadian sea-going freight was carried in foreign than Canadian bottoms, should be a warning to our rulers to beware of the breakers which have nearly driven American shipping from the ocean.

The development of the Dominion in canals, railways, telegraphs, telephones and electricity, can without exaggeration be described as creditable. By means of the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals we have triumphed over the barriers of Nature, and united the sparkling waters of Erie and Ontario. We have spent $54,500,000 on our canal system, but much remains to be accomplished.

For many years it has been my conviction, that it

will only be when the Welland and St. Lawrence Canals have been so enlarged and deepened that large ocean vessels can be despatched from Duluth, Port Arthur and Chicago, and without breaking bulk proceed to Liverpool, Glasgow and London, and indeed, to any of the ports of the world—when, in short, Canadian enterprise shall practically have made the great inland cities of America, ocean ports, that we may hope to realize the dream of William Hamilton Merritt and John Young, of Montreal: the great lakes and our majestic St. Lawrence whitened with sails, carrying on their bosom the boundless productions of Western America on their way to market.

The latest returns show we possessed 17,489 miles of telephone and 62,000 of telegraph wire, the latter being surpassed only by six of the larger nations.

Thirty years ago there were scarcely any railways in what is now the Dominion. Their increase has been as follows:

	Miles in operation.
In 1850	71
In 1860	2,081
In 1870	2,497
In 1880	6,891
In 1889	12,628
In 1890	14,000

Our railway development has been nearly all since Confederation, and during the same period the paid-up capital invested therein has increased from $160,471,190 to the very handsome sum of $760,576,446. From 1875 to 1889, a period of fourteen years, the

annual earnings of our railways increased from $19,000,000 to $42,000,000.

In the Canada Pacific and Grand Trunk we possess two of the largest railway systems in the world, and the construction of the main portions of the former from the Atlantic to the Pacific—the longest continuous railway in the world—within the short space of five years, whilst it may have been expensive, was certainly a feat in engineering and railway building of a remarkable character.

The first year after Confederation our total imports and exports amounted to $129,500,000. The highest point touched since then was in 1883, when our total commerce amounted to a little over $230,000,000, and it is not a little singular as showing how commerce expands and contracts in periods of ten years, that in the preceding decade the greatest expansion was in the corresponding year 1873, when the figures were $217,000,000.

For the last fiscal year, ending 30th June, 1890, our total transactions were of the value of $218,607,390. This shows our foreign trade to be about $42 per capita of the population. The latest returns I have seen for the United States do not exceed $22. Our transactions with Great Britain and the United States were as follows:

	Britain.	U. States.
Imports from	$43,390,241	$52,291,973
Exports to	48,353,694	40,522,810
Total	$91,743,935	$92,814 783

These returns prove that our external trade continues to be almost exclusively with Great Britain and the United States, our transactions with other countries being comparatively trifling. For reasons already given, this is not the time nor place to discuss this question. But there are three points which I think will very generally be assented to; 1st, Our exportable productions almost entirely depend on the British and American markets; 2nd, It would profit Canada nothing to improve either one of these markets if it entailed a corresponding injury of the other; and 3rd, That our true fiscal policy manifestly is, to remove as many obstructions as possible out of the way of our trade with both nations, consistent with our National Independence and the reasonable conservation of our own Industries.

It is much to be regretted that we have no Official records of the Dominion's Inter-provincial trade. The business carried on between Ontario and Quebec, and between them and the Maritime and North-West Provinces, has grown steadily and is much larger than is generally supposed. For 1889 the Dominion Statistical Bureau roughly estimated the total volume of Inter-provincial trade at $80,000,000, about fifty millions being with the Maritime Provinces, and thirty with Manitoba, Columbia and the North-West Territories. The following returns of Traffic on the Intercolonial Railway for 1878 and 1889 go to show that trade with our Eastern Provinces continues to increase;—

	1878.	1889.
Flour, (barrels)	637,778	927,014
Grain, (bushels)	331,170	1,519,862
Lumber, (feet)	56,626,547	197,545,777
Live Stock, (head)	46,498	77,661
Other Goods, (tons)	575,025	814,993

There are some difficulties in the way of rapid growth in the trade of the more distant provinces with the heart of the Dominion. These it would be neither wise nor just to deny. But they are probably not greater than those which confronted the American colonies a century ago, and if the above estimate of the extent of our inter-provincial trade be fairly near correct, it is already not far behind the value of our trade with either Great Britain or the United States.

There is no question more vitally affecting the stability and success of the Dominion, than this inter-provincial trade. It is the weld which, in a large measure, must bind us together, and in view of its great importance, I feel confident you will join me in pressing upon the Dominion government to immediately authorize the statistical bureau to adopt some regular system by which we can correctly ascertain its present extent, and mark its future growth from year to year.

We have a considerable public debt which is rather rapidly increasing, the net amount of which on the 30th June, 1890, was $238,048,638. If you are like some of our fellow-countrymen in England of whom I have read, you may add this to the sum of our national blessings, but I may add that I won't. The

subject of debt is an important one for nations as for individuals, and Dickens compresses the philosophy of the matter into a nutshell where he makes the luckless Micawber say: Income £4.19.6, expenditure £5, result misery; income £5, expenditure £4.19.6, result happiness.

Nothing could better illustrate the development which the Dominion has made than the statistics of our monetary and insurance institutions during the last twenty years. The following figures are chiefly for the years 1868–9 and 1889, and the increase in the principal items of the business of these institutions during the two decades has been as follows:

Bank deposits increased from.....	$ 32,808,103	to	$136,293,978
Bank assets " "	77,872,257	to	255,765,631
P. O. Saving Banks increased from.	1,588,848	to	23,011,422
Govt. & P. O. Savings Banks united	4,360,692	to	42,956,357
Loan Co. Assets	16,229,407	to	109,430,158
Life Insurance Risks.....	35,680,082	to	231,963,702
Fire Insurance Risks	188,359,809	to	684,538,378

The people have on deposit in the chartered banks, loan companies, government and other savings banks, upwards of $207,446,000, being $40 per head of the whole population. It is possible that Canada might have progressed still faster than this, and it is true that our farming and even our manufacturing industries are suffering at present from somewhat serious depression, but the foregoing statistics clearly attest that not only have we no reason to despair of our country, but it would indeed be difficult to produce any other country

which, when its population was only five millions, could point back for twenty years to a better record of progress and prosperity.

This hasty glance at our material progress would be incomplete without some reference to the accumulated wealth of the Dominion, and the total annual value of all our productions.

At Confederation a well-informed statistician estimated the realized wealth of British America, exclusive of railways, canals, public buildings, &c, at $1,136,000,000. Mughall, the eminent English authority, rates the wealth of Great Britain at $1,250, the United States at $790, and Canada at $650 per head. Calculated on this basis the gross value of our farms, buildings, ships, capital and other wealth, cannot to-day be less than $3,363,750,000.

In regard to the annual value of our total productions we have already had those of our farms estimated at $500,000,000. According to the census of 1881 the products of our manufactories and workshops during the year were of the value of $309,676,000. The secretary of the Manufacturers' Association has since rated them at $500,000,000, and I have been advised they are now still more. This is, of course, the estimated value of the finished article, and the cost of the raw material would have to be deducted to ascertain the real values produced by our manufacturing industries. But we have not yet counted the value of the annual products of our forest, our mines and our shipping and fisheries. Assuming that these would

balance the value of the raw material used in manufacturing, the value of our total annual production may be roughly estimated at $1,000,000,000.

In view of the foregoing facts, gentlemen, I think it can be justly claimed that our people have not been standing with folded hands in regard to the development of the great resources of the Dominion, and that although our country is not without some drawbacks, and may not have advanced so rapidly as some think it should and could have done, still after all its growth and progress have seldom been surpassed by other countries, and have served to raise Canada and Canadians to an honored place in the estimation of the nations, and excited a hopeful interest in the destiny which lies before us.

In the third place let us glance briefly at our political and mental outfit and social condition.

Our system of government may be described as a happy blending of the British and United States constitutions. We have the Federal system, which is admirably adapted for large States having diverse local interests. Personally, I would like to see a uniform Franchise, based on Manhood Suffrage and "one man one vote," throughout the Dominion and all the Provinces; but we have gone sufficiently near Universal Suffrage to give almost every man a voice in Dominion or Provincial affairs who deserves or cares for it. These Republican features we have grafted on to the carefully matured principles of British Parliamentary Government, and I know none under which the people

enjoy truer liberty or so directly control the actions of their representatives.

There are many matters in which we may wisely learn from our American neighbors, but it may fairly be claimed that our Parliamentary system possesses some decided advantages over theirs. This opens to view a tempting field, but it would lead too far to do more than mention two or three salient points as illustrated in the United States elections last fall. In that exciting contest the Republican party, which had just passed the McKinley bill, was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls, chiefly on that issue. Their majority in the late House of Representatives was 21; in the new house the Democrats number no less than 238 to their 87. The nation could scarcely have pronounced a more decided verdict against the McKinley bill and the Republican party, but, nevertheless, it remains a mere *brutem fulmen.*

The 51st Congress continued to legislate until the 4th March last, although most of the members of the House and many of the Senate had been defeated during the November previous. The President and Executive Government remain unchanged, although no longer representing the will of the people. When the 52nd Congress meets, the Executive and the Senate will be at political war with the House of Representatives, the former Republican and the latter Democratic, and even the McKinley bill, against which the nation so loudly protested, will most likely be kept on the statute book in defiance of the overwhelming vote of the people against it.

How different all this would be under our system of Responsible Government. Here we can also take an illustration. In 1878 the Liberal party of Canada was defeated at the polls. What almost immediately resulted? The Premier, Mr. Mackenzie, promptly tendered the resignation of himself and colleagues, and the Representative of the Crown as promptly called upon Sir John Macdonald as leader of the successful party to form and administer the government, and thus within thirty days the will of the Canadian people as expressed at the polls became the policy of the country.

If I were asked to point out the weakest feature of our parliamentary system, I should unhesitatingly answer—patronage. The size of the Dominion is vast. Many parts of it are as yet largely undeveloped and poor, and the people very naturally have—so to speak—a strong weakness to have their roads, railways and other improvements made at the public expense. Then there are few citizens so burdened with this world's goods as to be insensible to the attractions of a good fat office—always excepting, of course, our M.P's. and M.P.P's.

Under these circumstances the large patronage in the hands of our Dominion and Local Governments, to speak mildly, is not a factor for good to the nation, and so far as the Federal Government is concerned, whether in the hands of Reformers or Conservatives, the patronage in connection with the civil service, railways, canals, public works, Dominion lands and other public undertakings, has become so immense as

to greatly influence all parliamentary elections, and, if unchecked, may become dangerous to the liberties of the people.

There is a wide field here for parliamentary reform. We cannot longer afford to trifle with the admitted evils of the Spoils system, and the policy adopted in regard thereto by Victoria and other Australian colonies, is well deserving of our consideration. In that great sister colony they have stripped the government of all patronage in civil service and railway appointments, placing them under the absolute control of expert Commissioners and written examinations, and they like the system so well that they have recently created a special railway tribunal, and no new railway is to be aided by the government until it has been examined and approved by that body.

I trust it need not be repeated, that although necessarily referring to questions more or less political, I do not intend to entrench upon party politics. Leaving aside party differences then, to the proper occasion, I have no hesitation in saying that whilst possibly not without some serious mistakes, the people of Canada have worked out the system of Representative government in a fairly successful manner.

Our Governors-General, at least since Confederation, have represented the Crown with dignity and due regard to constitutional law, and our Lieutenant-Governors, considering their previous party alliances, have done exceedingly well.

The House of Commons has, upon the whole, re

flected no discredit upon the Dominion. Looked at from an intellectual point of view, with the exception of the Imperial House of Commons, it will compare favorably with any similar parliamentary body. Such men as the Hon. Edward Blake, Sir Charles Tupper, Hon. Alex. Mackenzie, Sir Leonard Tilley, now Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, Sir A. Dorion, now Chief Justice of Quebec, and others I might mention, would have taken high rank as statesmen either in London or Washington, and so long as its debates are enriched by the impassioned eloquence of a Laurier, the wit and sarcasm of a Macdonald, the powerful logic of a Cartwright, or the dignified and pleasing rhetoric of a Thompson, the people of Canada will have no cause to feel ashamed of the oratory of their highest representative body.

Of our Senate, notwithstanding the presence of a number of distinguished men in it, what shall I say? Very few will be found to maintain that it has proved to be the influential and useful body that was anticipated. Nor should this occasion surprise. It is a political anomaly. It is out of touch with the people. A body composed of life members, not a few of them octogenarians, and selected chiefly for political services, is not in harmony with our other institutions. Could there, indeed, be a greater anomaly in a country with democratic institutions, than that after the people have again and again refused to elect a man to represent them for five years, the Minister of the day, whoever he may chance to be, should have the power at his

own mere will or caprice, to issue his mandate and make the oft-rejected a legislator for life. The Senate at present practically represents nothing, not even a class like the House of Lords, and the public naturally take a very languid interest in its proceedings. If it is ever to rise to the influence and usefulness which such an important body as the Senate should exercise, life membership must be abolished, and the various provincial legislatures, or the people of the provinces themselves, given some voice in the selection of its members.

Our educational system is one of our most potent mental forces. We spent nearly $8,500,000 on public schools last year, and employed an army of 21,120 teachers, who taught considerably over 1,000,000 pupils. At our High Schools, Collegiate Institutes, and at Toronto, Trinity, McGill, Queen's, and our other Universities, an education can be obtained second only to that of Oxford or Cambridge, and so long as our public schools are conducted so efficiently as at present, and our higher seats of learning are presided over by such men as Sir Daniel Wilson, Sir William Dawson, and the Rev. Dr. Grant, names famous in science and literature in Europe as well as America, the mental outfit of the youth of Canada ought not to be deficient as compared with other lands.

Besides our learned Professors and Teachers, the number of our educated classes is by no means inconsiderable. The Judges who preside in our courts with much dignity, the Doctors who look after our bodies,

and the Lawyers who manage our estates, are generally well educated, as a general rule they are better educated and trained, so far as my observation goes, than the same classes in the United States.

The pulpit and the press are also strong mental and moral forces. There are now at least 829 newspapers and other periodicals published in the Dominion, the editors, reporters, regular contributors and occasional correspondents of which number many thousands, without counting those mysterious personages described by Mark Twain as the "fighting editor." Marked progress has been made of late years in the ability, enterprise and independence with which not only our city dailies, but the country journals of Canada, are conducted.

Besides Bishops, Moderators, Presidents, &c., we have nearly 10,500 Clergymen engaged in the sacred office. It would be invidious to particularize among so many able and devoted men, but it may be truly said, there are not a few in all the denominations who would do honor to the church of any land as they do honor to the church of Canada, and that under their ministrations there is reason to hope that all professing Christians will be drawn closer and closer together, so that amidst the agnosticism and materialism of the age, Canada may hold aloft a pure Christianity and make itself conspicuous for that righteousness which exalteth a nation.

Mr. Goldwin Smith has described Canada as "rough,

raw and democratic."[1] This picture is not untrue, though possibly painted in too sombre colors. Our country is still rough and there is much still left for human industry to do. Few other lands, however, excel it in scenic beauty. Mount Stephen and Sir Donald equal in grandeur the snow-clad peaks of Switzerland, the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa are not surpassed by the Rhine or the Danube, and our Western prairies are as fertile as the plains of Southern England. Time is needed to clothe our landscapes with beauty and historic associations, but in the well settled sections of Ontario or any of the sister provinces, there is much in the scenery to give delight, either in the spring time with its buds and blossoms, the mellow autumn with its fruits and flowers and golden grain, or still later when the breath of October has rendered our magnificent forests gorgeous in scarlet and brown and gold.

1. In reference to this point, it is due to Mr. Smith to give the following letter:—

"THE GRANGE," TORONTO, APRIL 21ST, 1891.

MY DEAR MR. YOUNG,—You say in your address on Canadian Nationality, if the *Globe* reports you rightly, that I have described Canada as "rough, raw and democratic." This is an old but not a true story. It had its origin, I believe, in a malicious distortion of some words in the editorial of a paper of which, though a writer, I was not the editor. Believe me, I have never written or penned a disrespectful or an unkind word of my adopted country.

I am, dear Mr. Young, very truly yours,

GOLDWIN SMITH.

We are doubtless deficient in culture. Comparatively speaking, how few Canadian books have we? How few authors known to the confraternity of Belles Lettres throughout the world? How few devotees of science or art? Compared with England, with Germany or France, we are uncultured in these respects. Time is needed for our development. But valuable as culture is, we can justly make a boast of far higher importance, that not in England, not in Germany, not in France, not even in the United States, are the toiling millions of humanity freer, wealthier or happier, than are the masses of our Canadian people.

The Dominion is yet but a young country, and we have in a great measure to make our history and our great men. It must be confessed we cannot boast of such eminent Statesmen, Poets, Philosophers and Soldiers, as have shed lustre on the British name for centuries past.

But, gentlemen, we have no reason to be ashamed of the eminent men that British America has turned out. In the walks of science we can point to Sir William Logan, Sir William Dawson, Dr. Gesner of Nova Scotia, and Billings the paleontologist.

In literature and the profession of arms, may be mentioned Judge Haliburton, the famous Sam Slick, Garneau the Historian, General Inglis the hero of Lucknow, who was born in Halifax, Sir Fenwick Williams, the heroic defender of Kars, and Lieut.-Col. Dunn, a native of Toronto, who received in Hyde Park, from the hands of Her Majesty herself, the Victoria Cross,

for being among the bravest of the brave of the "immortal six hundred" who charged at Balaclava.

Our intellectual progress is attested by the rapid increase of our living prose writers. Here the name of Goldwin Smith looms up, but he is too cosmopolitan, I fear, for us to claim. W. D. LeSuer of Ottawa, Miss Louisa Murray of Stamford, Prof. William Clark of Trinity University, Toronto, John Reade of Montreal and George Stewart of Quebec, are conspicuous among our numerous excellent writers of the day, and I may now add Sarah Jeannette Duncan, whose "Social Departure" and "An American Girl in London," have won for her a first instalment of fame.

We have our poets, too, and what is better, real ones. Charles Sangster is probably the most distinctively Canadian, but he is rivalled in other respects by Prof. Charles Roberts of New Brunswick, Miss Agnes Machar of Kingston, Archibald Lampman of Ottawa, and Louis Honore Frechette of Quebec, who received for his poetic genius the Crown of the French Academy.

Paul Kane, Homer Watson, L. R. O'Brien, Geo. A. Reid and numerous other painters are doing much for Canadian Art, and may I not appropriately close this hurried effort to show that the intellectual progress of the Dominion keeps step with its material development, by simply quoting our honor roll of departed Statesmen?

This embraces MacKenzie, Papineau, Chief Justice Robinson, Draper, Baldwin, Lafontaine, Hincks, and may I not now inscribe high up on this Roll of Honor,

with everybody's consent, now that they have passed over to the silent majority, four illustrious names:—Joseph Howe, Luther Hamilton Holton, George Etienne Cartier, George Brown?

We have now, gentlemen, glanced at the resources of the Dominion, the progress we have made in developing them, and our political and mental outfit. Let me now draw my remarks toward a conclusion with a brief reference to the question now constantly pressing to the front—What is to be the future of Canada? And here, permit me to say, we begin to tread upon delicate ground, and I have no desire, as I am sure you have not, to come under the point of the poet's sneer—

> "Fools rush in,
> Where angels fear to tread."

I think it will be generally admitted, Mr. President, that our political horizon, both internal and external, is at present somewhat uncertain. The old political landmarks are disappearing. Young men are coming to the front. The thrill of new political forces is being felt. Several new questions with important and somewhat disturbing tendencies, have arisen, and I never before felt so strongly, that whatever may be our political opinions, whether Conservative or Liberal, we should all realize that above and beyond all political parties we are Canadians, men whose country has reached the verge of National manhood, and whose highest intelligence and patriotism are needed to solve the great political problems incident to our position.

Some of these questions, as already mentioned, cannot properly be discussed here, but as the future of Canada is happily not yet a party question, I avail myself of the opportunity to make a few observations in regard to it. I wish it to be distinctly understood, however, that I speak only for myself, and entertain great respect for the opinions of gentlemen who differ from me. But for my part, I certainly consider it would have been better for Canada if the wide-spread discussion now going on of Imperial Federation, Political Union, and Canadian Nationality could have been postponed until a later period in our history.

1. Because such discussions have a disturbing effect upon the Dominion. It is not a quarter of a century yet since the foundations of the Confederation were laid, and the present and most pressing duty of Canadians is, how we can best make Confederation a permanent success and bind our scattered races and provinces into one homogeneous people and country.

2. Because I have seen nothing advanced at Federation meetings, either in England or Canada, to prove that, so long as we remain part of the Empire, we can ever have any better relations than those which have so long and so happily existed between Canada and the Mother Country.

I shall not say much as regards Annexation to the United States. Both our great political parties are happily opposed to Political Union, and I hope—nay I feel confident—there are very few Canadians, especially those who are native born, who seriously entertain

that idea. With all its blemishes, the record of the British Monarchy is a grand one. Against Philip of Spain and his Armada, against Louis XIV. at Blenheim and Ramilies, and at the great battle of Waterloo, when the power of Napoleon was finally shivered to atoms—it can justly claim to have, almost single-handed, thrice saved the liberties of the world. The world owes more to it to-day than to any other power: civil liberty, representative government, religious toleration, its purest literature and its freest commerce.

Whilst, therefore, we may cherish the most kindly feelings towards our United States cousins, whilst we may admire the great Republic and wish it God-speed in its grand career, I have mistaken my fellow-countrymen if they are not too proud of the races from which we have sprung, too hopeful of a great future for Canadian Nationality, to ever seriously think of separation from Great Britain to join any other nation.

Active exertions are now being made by a number of highly respected gentlemen in England and Canada to promote Imperial Federation. Whatever else this may mean, it involves the idea that Great Britain is to be the centre of a grand, world-wide Confederation, governed in general matters by one parliament, bound together in peace or war, and all the outlying States and Provinces more or less controlled by the central power. There is admittedly something dazzling in the idea of a grand Imperial Parliament to which representatives would journey from every part of the globe but it is to be feared it is as impracticable as it is dazzling.

The interests of India, Australia and of Canada are by no means identical. Those of Great Britain often materially differ from those of her colonies, and any serious efforts to combine them in one great legislative body, instead of binding the Mother Country and the colonies into one indissoluble Imperial Empire, would, in my humble judgment, be more likely to bring out antagonisms and rend them asunder.

I would have to trespass too much on your time to discuss this question at length. I shall therefore confine myself to one or two objections which I regard as fatal to it from a Canadian point of view.

1. Imperial Federation could only be made a reality by giving the Federal Parliament, which would naturally meet in London, control over all such general questions as Peace and War, the Tariff and Taxation, and Ships and Fisheries. The Fiscal policies of Great Britain and of Canada are diametrically opposed. They have Free Trade, we have Protection. But even if this were otherwise, I have no idea that the people of Canada would ever consent to hand over to any but their own chosen representatives, not to speak of a legislative body meeting four thousand miles away, in which they would have but little voice, the absolute control over our Canadian commerce.

2. Nor do I think our people would ever consent to become directly entangled in Old World quarrels, and directly concerned in wars which may any day set the armed hosts of Europe at each other's throats like wolves.

So far as I am concerned, there is a more fundamental objection. As a native Canadian, whose first duty is to Canada, I am not prepared to go back to something like Downing Street rule, or to give up one single one of those cherished rights of self-government which our forefathers so long and so earnestly struggled to obtain.

But it has been urged of late that to promote Imperial Federation the Mother Country might admit the food and other products of her colonies free, whilst taxing those of other countries. This is one of the most chimerical of ideas. Probably not less than three-fourths of the food supply of Britain is imported from abroad, and to suppose that she would tax the food of her 38,000,000 of people for the benefit of her colonies, not to speak of going back to the old corn laws, under which her manufactories became silent and hundreds of her operatives actually starved to death, is to suppose something hardly within the bounds of possibility.

Why, within a few decades a ministerial crisis was caused in London by a proposition to put a farthing tax on each box of matches, and not only Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Goschen and nearly all the leading statesmen and great organs of public opinion in England repudiate the proposition, but Lord Salisbury has himself pointedly intimated, that to re-enact the corn laws and tax the food of the people might result in something akin to revolution.

My firm belief is, that the connection which at

present exists between Great Britain and Canada is the strongest and best which will ever bind them together. The strongest link in the chain is National sentiment, but the sentiment of a free people is a tremendous force where Nationality is concerned, and but for our peculiar position on this continent, and the agitating questions which have arisen as to our future, there is no reason why the existing relations between Canada and the Mother Country might not have long and happily continued.

But gentlemen, these questions, I fear, will not down. They are, so to speak, in the air. Their discussion is not a cause but an effect. Slow to recognize it as we may be, the Dominion has reached National adolescence. We are like a young man who realizes that it is impracticable for him to remain much longer under the parental roof, and who is becoming anxious and perplexed as to his future. We would fain linger still around the old Homestead, but, dropping metaphor, our powerful neighbor the United States has adopted towards us a commercial policy—a policy possibly not unnatural—but evidently designed to influence our political future, and it has become my firm conviction, that the day is not far distant when Canada will be forced to declare for National Independence in friendly alliance with Great Britain, or guaranteed by both Great Britain and the United States, if we would avoid drifting ingloriously towards the vortex of political absorption.

Mr. Blake has patriotically sounded a loud and

warning note on this point. It should be heard as a bugle call to duty by all Canadians from Cape Breton to Vancouver, who cherish hopes of Canadian Nationality. There is some danger, I admit, in the agitation of Mr. Goldwin Smith and other advocates of absorption, but I do not fear our fellow-countrymen's decision. I believe the vast majority of them are unalterably opposed to Political Union, and are fully persuaded that it would be a stain forever on the Canadian name, if with a country so vast, with such immense natural resources, possessing at once the agricultural element, the manufacturing element and the maritime element—indeed all the elements of a great nation—we were too craven or too selfish to work out the grand national destiny tempting us onwards. Might it not in that case be said of us as a people, what Sir Walter Scott said of the man who had no love for his native land.

> "The wretch, concentrated all in self,
> Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
> And, doubly dying, shall go down
> To the vile dust from whence he sprung,
> Unwept, unhonored and unsung."

I will only add in conclusion, gentlemen, that when the day does come that our present connection with Great Britain can no longer be satisfactorily maintained—as come some day it inevitably must—and circumstances may force it faster than we desire or imagine, I would be untrue to my own feelings, I would be false to my highest aspirations as a Canadian to "the manor born," if I did not assert my

unfaultering belief, that on that selfsame day a new nation and nationality will be born, and Canada take its place peacefully and gracefully among the nations of America.

LIEUT.-COL. DENISON EXPLAINS.

A hearty vote of thanks was moved by Mr. E. E. Sheppard to the Hon. Mr. Young for his inspiring lecture, in the seconding of which Lieut.-Col. George T. Denison said:—I have much pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks to our distinguished lecturer for his most able address. I am sure every member of this Club sympathizes with the patriotic Canadian tone, with the appreciation of the brilliant possibilities of our country which runs through the whole lecture. There is one point, however, in which, while our ideas run in a similar groove, many of us feel that they should be carried out on a different line from that which Mr. Young has indicated. We all feel that Canada cannot always be a colony or dependency, she must some day be independent nominally as well as practically, for we are practically independent to-day, and I think that most Canadians feel that real independence, absolute independence, can better be obtained within the Empire, than outside of it, and this, by a scheme of Imperial Federation, but not such a scheme as Mr. Young has built up and objected to, for as a prominent member of the Imperial Federation League, I may say that this outline is not that of our league.

When we consider our present position we find

that we are independent and self-governing in every particular, except that of foreign relations, which we have hitherto left to be managed by the senior member of the firm, and even in this we are consulted and have our say, for only the other day we heard Lord Salisbury tell the United States Government that no treaty could be made until "Canada is heard from." If this is not independence it is practically very near to it. Still, as a Canadian, I see no reason why all this should not be as a matter of right and by arrangement, and not as a question of courtesy or favor. I see no reason why a scheme of Imperial Federation can not be devised by which we would be as independent within the Empire as England or Ireland or Scotland are to-day, and then as independent portions of an Empire containing over 11,000,000 square miles of territory, some 360,000,000 of people, half the tonnage of the world, with the most powerful navy and all the best coaling stations, we would enjoy a security such as no other independent nation could possess, and infinitely greater than if our country stood alone. This future would be in accord with our sentiment, and our tradition, and with our allegiance to our Sovereign, our duty to our flag, and to the memory of our fathers. I have great pleasure in seconding the vote of thanks.

HC.C.
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